







Published by D. Jaques Lower Swan Street, Chelsea.

THE
LIFE
OF
BARON FREDERIC TRENCK;

CONTAINING HIS

Adventures;

HIS

CRUEL AND EXCESSIVE SUFFERINGS

DURING

**TEN YEARS' IMPRISONMENT AT THE FORTRESS
OF MAGDEBURG,**

BY COMMAND OF THE LATE

KING OF PRUSSIA.

ALSO

ANECDOTES,

HISTORICAL, POLITICAL, AND PERSONAL.

Translated from the German.

LONDON:

**PRINTED AND SOLD BY D. JAQUES, LOWER SLOANE STREET,
CHELSEA;**

R. EDWARDS, CRANE COURT, FLEET STREET;

And by all other Booksellers in the United Kingdom.

1818.

EXPLANATION of the PLATE,

REPRESENTING

THE BARON LOADED WITH FETTERS IN PRISON.

Round the neck was a collar of iron of a hand's breadth, to the ring of which the chains and their whole weight were pendent. The chains he was obliged to sustain with one hand day and night, or he would have been in danger of being strangled.

Above the elbows were two irons, to which a chain was fixed, behind his back, that passed up to the neck-collar. These, however, were removed a month after they were first put on, when the Baron fell ill.

A broad iron rim was riveted round his body, between which and the bar that separated his hands was another chain.

The bar, two feet in length, was ironed to the hand-cuffs, so that he could only bring the end of his fingers in contact.

The chains were fixed to a thick iron staple in the wall.

A triple row of chains descended to the right foot, and the whole weight, the projecting neck-collar acting as a lever, was enormous.

Under the staple was a seat of bricks; on the opposite side a water jug. Beneath the feet of the Baron was his tomb-stone, with the name **TRENCK** carved; and a death's-head.

PREFACE.

THE *Life of Baron Trenck is, in point of composition, a work of a most extraordinary nature. He lived in the corrupt school of Frederic the Great, King of Prussia, and had acquired strange ideas on certain subjects, then dignified by the epithet Philosophy ; although he preserved the manly sense, even in that court, to abhor its Ganymedes, and thereby to incur denunciation of vengeance from the monarch.*

The man of feeling, and the friend of freedom, will read this work with sensations perhaps too strong : it will remain an eternal monument of the dreadful, the detestable, the diabolical effects of despotism.

The historian will acquire from it essential information concerning the characters of persons, courts, and kingdoms, highly illustrative of the annals of the last century.

The philosopher will meditate on the manners of the people of Germany ; will wonder, while reading, to recollect that there, as in states more improved, such

numbers should remain so ignorant and credulous, while knowledge and science appear to be so far advanced; will sigh to be so repeatedly told of military courts, and judges condemned to sweep the streets, after effecting the ruin of thousands; will incessantly reflect, with amazement at the strange jargon and confusion that still are so universal over the globe, as he reads the words king, liberty, vassal, military sentence, property, just claim, and an infinity of other heterogeneous and incompatible phrases; continually will he exclaim—How many ages, yet, oh world, must thou exist, ere thy sons shall learn wisdom!

The book is what it should be, the perfect resemblance of its author—an original, bold, and interesting picture. Like him, it has its defects; but they are forgotten in the admiration of its inherent and masculine beauties.

THE
LIFE
OF
BARON TRENCK.

I WAS born at Königsberg in Prussia, February 16, 1726, of one of the most ancient families of the country. My father, who was a knight of the military order, lord of Great Scharlack, Schakulack, and Meicken, and major general of cavalry, died in 1740, after having received eighteen wounds in the Prussian service. My mother, descended from the house of Derschau, was daughter of the president of the high court at Königsberg: she had two brothers, generals of infantry, and a third minister of state, and postmaster general at Berlin. After my father's death in 1740, she married Count Lostange, lieutenant-colonel in the Kiow regiment of cuirassiers, with whom, leaving Prussia, she went and resided at Breslaw. I had two brothers and a sister: my youngest brother was taken, by my mother, into Silesia: the other was a cornet in this last-named regiment of Kiow; and my sister was married to the only son of the aged General Valdow, who quitted the service, and with whom she lived, in Brandenburg, on his estates.

My ancestors, both of the male and female line, are famous in the chronicles of the North, among the ancient Teutonic knights, who conquered Courland, Prussia, and Livonia.

I seek not, by this recital, to gain estimation, much less to vaunt of the accident of noble birth, which, when unsupported by a noble mind, I hold in sovereign contempt.

My reason for insisting on this circumstance is, that it has been contested and denied by some, who deem high birth to be the only test and standard of merit.

I write not, however, to a circle so narrow or ill-judging, but to the liberal, and the wise; to the world at large; hoping my story may afford useful lessons of morality, inspiring patience, hope, and fortitude. Enough therefore of, and for ever adieu to, my noble ancestry: what I have said is sufficient to rescue my children from all pretended obloquy; to show they are not vassals born; and, as I trust, to inspire them with emulation, remembering the examples left by their forefathers, and that their name is Trenck.

By temperament I was choleric, and addicted to pleasure and dissipation: my tutors found this last defect most difficult to overcome; happily, they were aided by a love of knowledge inherent in me, an emulative spirit, and a thirst of fame, which disposition it was my father's care to cherish. A too great consciousness of innate worth gave me a too great degree of pride; but the endeavours of my instructor to inspire humility were not all lost; and habitual reading, well-timed praise, and the pleasures flowing from science, made the labours of study at length my recreation.

My memory became remarkable: I was well read in the holy scriptures, the classics, and ancient history; was intimately acquainted with geography; could draw accurately; and learnt fencing, riding, and other necessary exercises.

My religion was Lutheran; but morality, and not superstitious bigotry, or childish fears, was taught me by my father, and by the worthy man to whose care he committed the forming of my heart, whose memory I shall ever hold in veneration. While a boy, I was enterprising in all the tricks of boys, and exercised my wit in crafty excuses; the warmth of my passions, then and afterwards, gave a satyric biting cast to my writings, whence it has been imagined, by those who knew but little of me, I was a dangerous man; though I am conscious this was a hasty and false judgment.

A soldier himself, my father would have all his sons the same: thus, when we quarrelled, we were not admitted to terminate our disputes in the common way, but were pro-

vided with wooden sabres, sheathed with leather, and brandishing these, contested by blows for victory, while our father sat laughing, pleased at our valour and address. This practice, and the praises he bestowed, had the bad effect of encouraging a disposition, which, with passions like mine, ought carefully to have been counteracted.

Covetous of praise, and accustomed to obtain the prize, and be the hero of scholastic contentions, I acquired also the bad habit of disputation, and of imagining myself a sage when little more than a boy. I became stubborn in argument; hasty to correct others, instead of patiently attentive; and, by my presumption, continually liable to incite enmity.

Gentle to my inferiors, but impatient of contradiction, and proud of resisting power, I may hence date the origin of all my evils. The abhorrence which I had of despotism, and its abuses, for the silent acquiescence in which my education and book-taught principles but ill fitted me, was an additional cause.

How might a man, however great his talents, imbued with the heroic principles of liberty, hope advancement and happiness under the despotic and iron government of Frederic? I was taught neither to know nor to avoid, but to despise, the whip of slavery. Had I learnt hypocrisy, craft, and meanness, I had long since become field-marshal, had been in quiet possession of my vast Hungarian estates, and had not passed the best years of my life in the dungeons of Magdeburg. I was addicted to no vice; I laboured in the cause of science, honour, and virtue; kept no vicious company; was never, during the whole course of my life, once intoxicated; was no gamester, no consumer of time in idleness nor brutal pleasures; but devoted many hundred laborious nights to studies that might make me useful to my country, yet was I punished with a severity too cruel even for the most worthless or most villainous.

I mean, in my narrative, to make candour and veracity

my guides, and never to conceal or screen my failings : I wish my work may remain an instructive and moral lesson to the world. Yet is it an innate and inexpressible satisfaction, that I am conscious of never having acted with guilt or dishonour, even to the last act of this distressful tragedy.

I shall say little more of the first years of my life, except that my father, who had a tender affection for me, took especial care of my education, and sent me, at the age of thirteen, to the university of Königsberg, where, under the tuition of Kowalewsky, my progress was rapid. There were fourteen other noblemen, of the best families, in the same house, and under the same master.

The year following, that is to say in 1740, I had a quarrel with one young Wallenrodt, a fellow student, much stronger and taller than myself, and who, despising my weakness, thought proper to give me a blow. I demanded satisfaction—he came not to the appointed place, but treated my demand with contempt ; and I, forgetting all further respect, procured a second, and attacked him in open day. We fought, and I had the fortune to wound him twice ; the first time in the arm ; the second in the hand.

This affair incited inquiry :—doctor Kowalewsky, our tutor, laid complaints before the university, and I was condemned to three hours confinement ; but my grandfather and guardian, president Derschau, with whom I was a great favourite, was so pleased with my courage, that he instantly took me from this house, and placed me under professor Christiani.

Here I first began to enjoy full and entire liberty ; and from this worthy man I learnt all I know of experimental philosophy and science. He loved me as his own son, and sometimes continued instructing me till midnight. Under his auspices, in 1742, I maintained, with great success, two public theses, although I was then but sixteen ;—an effort and an honour till then unknown.

Three days after my last public exordium, a contemp-

tible fellow, and professional bully, sought a quarrel with me, and, as I may say, obliged me to draw in my own defence, whom, on this occasion, I wounded in the groin.

This continued success highly inflated my valour, and from that time I began to wear a sword of enormous length, and to assume the accoutrements and appearance of a Hector.

Such was the effect of prejudices inspired in youth, and which would inevitably have made me a quarrelsome dangerous man, had not the rectitude of my heart, and the extreme miseries of which I became the victim, soon re-conducted me to the paths of virtue.

Scarcely had a fortnight elapsed, after this last affair, before I had another with a lieutenant of the garrison, one of my friends, whom I had insulted, who received two wounds in the contest.

I ought to remark that, at this time, the university of Königsberg was still highly privileged. To send a challenge was held honourable; and this was not only permitted, but would have been difficult to prevent, considering the great number of proud, hot-headed, turbulent young nobility from Livonia, Courland, Sweden, Denmark, and Poland, who came thither to study; and of whom there were more than five hundred. This brought the university into disrepute, and endeavours have been made to remedy the abuse. Men have acquired a greater extent of true knowledge, and have begun to perceive that a university ought to be a place of instruction, and not a field of battle; and that blood cannot be honourably shed, except in defence of life or country.

In November, 1742, the king sent his adjutant-general, baron Lottum, who was related to my mother, to Königsberg, with whom I dined at my grandfather's. He conversed much with me; and, after putting various questions, purposely to discover what my talents and inclinations were, he demanded, as if in joke, whether I had any inclination to go with him to Berlin, and serve my country, as my an-

cestors had ever done ; adding that, in the army, I should find much better opportunities of sending challenges than at the university.—Inflamed with the desire of distinguishing myself, I listened with rapture to the proposition, and, in a few days, we departed for Potsdam.

On the morrow after my arrival, I was presented to the king, as indeed I had before been in the year 1740, with the character of being then one of the most hopeful youths of the university. My reception was most flattering ; the justness of my replies to the questions he asked, my height, figure, and confidence, pleased him ; and I soon obtained permission to enter as a cadet in his body guards, with a promise of quick preferment.

The body guards formed, at this time, a model and school for the Prussian cavalry : they consisted of one single squadron of men, selected from the whole army, and their uniform was the most splendid in all Europe. Two thousand rix-dollars were necessary to equip an officer : the cuirass was wholly plated with silver ; and the horse-furniture and accoutrements alone cost four hundred rix-dollars.

This squadron only contained six officers, and a hundred and forty-four men ; but there were always fifty or sixty supernumeraries, and as many horses ; for the king incorporated all the most handsome men he found in these guards. The officers were the best taught of any the army contained ; the king himself was their tutor, and he afterwards sent them to instruct the cavalry in the manœuvres they had learnt. Their rise was rapid, if they behaved well ; but they were broken for the least fault, and punished by being sent to garrison regiments. It was likewise necessary they should be tolerably rich, as well as possess such talents as might be successfully employed, both at court and in the army.

There are no soldiers in the world who undergo so much as this body guard ; and during the time I was in the service of Frederic I often had not eight hours sleep in eight days. Exercise began at four in the morning, and experi-

ments were made of all the alterations the king meant to introduce in his cavalry. Ditches of three, four, five, six, feet, and still wider, were leaped, till that some one broke his neck ; hedges, in like manner, were freed ; and the horse ran careers, meeting each other full speed, in a kind of lists of more than half a league in length. We had often, in these our exercises, several men and horses killed or wounded.

It happened, more frequently than otherwise, that the same experiments were repeated after dinner with fresh horses ; and it was not uncommon, at Potsdam, to hear the alarm sounded twice in a night. The horses stood in the king's stables ; and whoever had not dressed, armed himself, saddled his horse, mounted, and appeared before the palace, in eight minutes, was put under arrest for fourteen days.

Scarcely were the eyes closed before the trumpet again sounded, to accustom youth to vigilance. I lost, in one year, three horses, which had either broken their legs in leaping ditches, or died of fatigue.

I cannot give a stronger picture of this service, than by saying that the body guard lost more men and horses in one year's peace, than they did during the following year, in two battles.

We had, at this time, three stations : our service, in the winter, was at Berlin ; where we attended the opera, and all the public festivals : in the spring we were exercised at Charlottenburg ; and at Potsdam, or wherever the king went, during the summer. The six officers of the guard dined with the king, and on gala days with the queen. It may be presumed, there was not, at that time, on earth, a better school to form an officer and a man of the world than was the court of Berlin.

I had scarcely been six weeks a cadet before the king took me aside, one day, after the parade ; and, having examined me near half an hour, on various subjects, commanded me to come and speak to him on the morrow.

His intention was to find whether the accounts that had

been given him of my memory had not been exaggerated ; and that he might be convinced, he first gave me the names of fifty soldiers to learn by rote, which I did in five minutes. He next repeated the subjects of two letters, which I immediately composed in French and Latin ; the one I wrote, the other I dictated. He afterwards ordered me to trace, with promptitude, a landscape from nature, which I executed with equal success ; and he then gave me a cornet's commission in his body guards.

Each mark of bounty from the monarch increased an ardour already great, inspired me with gratitude, and the first of my wishes was to devote my whole life to the service of my king and country. He spoke to me, as a sovereign should speak, like a father, like one who knew well how to estimate the gifts bestowed on me by Nature ; and perceiving, or rather feeling, how much he might expect from me, became at once my instructor and my friend.

Thus did I remain a cadet only six weeks ; and few Prussians can vaunt, under the reign of Frederic, of equal good fortune.

The king not only presented me with a commission, but equipped me splendidly for the service. Thus did I suddenly find myself a courtier, and an officer in the finest, bravest, and best disciplined corps in Europe. My good fortune seemed unlimited, when, in the month of August 1743, the king selected me to go and instruct the Silesian cavalry in the new manœuvres ; an honour never before granted to a youth of eighteen.

I have already said we were garrisoned at Berlin during winter, where the officers' table was at court ; and, as my reputation had preceded me, no person whatever could be better received there, or live more pleasantly.

Frederic commanded me to visit the literati whom he had invited to his court : Maupertuis, Jordan, La Metrie, and Pollnitz, were all my acquaintance. My days were employed in the duties of an officer, and my nights in acquiring

knowledge. Pollnitz was my guide, and the friend of my heart. My happiness was well worthy being envied. In 1743, I was five feet eleven inches in height; and Nature had endowed me with every requisite to please. I lived, as I vainly imagined, without inciting enmity or malice, and my mind was wholly occupied by the desire of earning well-founded fame.

I had hitherto remained ignorant of love, and had been terrified from illicit commerce by beholding the dreadful objects of the hospital at Potsdam. During the winter of 1743 the nuptials of his majesty's sister were celebrated, who was married to the king of Sweden, where she is at present queen dowager, mother of the reigning Gustavus. I, as officer of my corps, had the honour to mount guard, and escort her as far as Stettin. Here first did my heart feel a passion of which, in the course of my history, I shall have frequent occasion to speak. The object of my love was one whom I can only remember at present with reverence; and, as I write not romance, but facts, I shall here briefly say, ours were mutually the first fruits of affection, and that to this hour I regret no misfortune, no misery, with which, from a stock so noble, my destiny was overshadowed. Amid the tumult, inseparable to occasions like these, on which it was my duty to maintain order, a thief had the address to steal my watch, and cut away a part of the gold fringe which hung from the waistcoat of my uniform, and afterwards to escape unperceived. This accident brought on me the raillery of my comrades; and the lady alluded to thence took occasion to console me, by saying, 'It should be her care that I should be no loser.' Her words were accompanied by a look I could not misunderstand; and, a few days after, I thought myself the happiest of mortals. The name, however, of this high-born lady is a secret, which must descend with me to the grave; and, though my silence concerning this incident leaves a void in my life, and indeed throws obscurity over a part of it which

might else be clear, I would much rather incur this reproach, than become ungrateful toward my best friend and benefactress. To her conversation, to her prudence, to the power by which she fixed my affections wholly on herself, am I indebted for the improvement and polishing of my bodily and mental qualities. She never despised, betrayed, or abandoned me, even in the deepest of my distress ; and my children alone, on my death bed, shall be taught the name of her to whom they owe the preservation of their father, and, consequently, their own existence.

I lived at this time perfectly happy at Berlin, and highly esteemed. The king took every opportunity to testify his approbation ; my mistress supplied me with more money than I could expend ; and I was presently the best equipped, and made the greatest figure of any officer in the whole corps. The style in which I lived was remarked ; for I had only received from my father's heritage the estate of Great Scharlach, the rent of which was eight hundred dollars a year, which was far from sufficient to supply my then expences. My amour, in the mean time, remained a secret from my best and most intimate friends. Twice was my absence from Potsdam and Charlottenburg discovered, and I was put under arrest ; but the king seemed satisfied with the excuses I made, under pretext of having been hunting, and smiled as he granted my pardon.

Never did the days of youth glide away with more apparent success and pleasure than during these my first years at Berlin. This good fortune was, alas, also of short duration ! Many are the incidents I might relate, but which I shall omit. My other adventures are sufficiently numerous, without mingling such as may any way seem foreign to the subject. In this gloomy history of my life, I wish to paint myself such as I am ; and, by the recital of my sufferings, afford a memorable example to the world, and interest the heart of sensibility. I would also show how my fatal destiny has deprived my children of an immense fortune ; and,

though I want a hundred thousand men to enforce and ensure my rights, I will leave demonstration to my heirs that they are incontestable.

In the beginning of September, 1744, war again broke out between the houses of Austria and Prussia. We marched with all speed toward Prague, traversing Saxony without opposition. I will not relate, in this place, what the great Frederic said to us, with evident emotion, when surrounded by all his officers, on the morning of our departure from Potzdam.

Should any one be desirous of writing the lives of him and his opponent, Maria Theresa, without flattery and without fear, let him apply to me, and I will relate anecdotes most surprising on this subject, unknown to all but myself, and which never must appear under my own name.

All monarchs going to war have reason on their side; and the churches of both parties resound with prayers, and appeals to Divine Justice, for the success of their arms. Frederic, on this occasion, had recourse to them, with regret, of which I was a witness.

If I am not mistaken, the king's army came before Prague on the fourteenth of September; and that of general Schwerin, which had passed through Silesia, arrived the next day on the other side of the Moldan. In this position we were obliged to wait some days for pontons, without which we could not establish a communication between the two armies.

The height called Zischka, which overlooks the city, being guarded only by a few Croats, was instantly seized, without opposition, by some grenadiers; and the batteries, erected at the foot of that mountain being ready on the fifth day, played with such success on the old town, with bombs, and red-hot balls, that it was set on fire. The king made every effort to take the city, before prince Charles could bring his army from the Rhine to its relief.

General Harsch thought proper to capitulate, after a

siege of twelve days, during which not more than five hundred men of the garrison, at the utmost, were killed and wounded, though eighteen thousand men were made prisoners.

Thus far we had met with no impediment. The imperial army, however, under the command of Prince Charles of Lorraine, having quitted the banks of the Rhine, was advancing to save Bohemia.

During this campaign we saw the enemy only at a distance ; but the Austrian light troops, being thrice as numerous as ours, prevented us from all foraging. Winter was approaching ; dearth and hunger made Frederic determine to retreat, without the least hope from the countries in our rear, which we had entirely laid waste as we had advanced. The severity of the season, in the month of November, rendered the soldiers excessively impatient of their hardships ; and, accustomed to conquer, the Prussians were ashamed of, and repined at, retreat : the enemy's light troops facilitated desertion, and we lost, in a few weeks, above thirty thousand men. The pandours of my kinsman, the Austrian Trenck, were incessantly at our heels, gave us frequent alarms, did us great injury, and, by their alertness, we never could make any impression upon them with our cannon. Trenck at length passed the Elbe, and went and burnt and destroyed our magazines at Pardubitz : it was therefore resolved wholly to evacuate Bohemia.

The king hoped to have brought Prince Charles to a battle, between Benneschau and Kannupitz, but in vain : the Saxons, during the night, had erected a battery of three and twenty cannon, on a mound which separated two ponds : this was the precise road by which the king meant to make the attack.

Thus were we obliged to abandon Bohemia. The dearth, both for man and horse, began to grow extreme. The weather was bad ; the roads and ruts were deep ; marches were continual, and alarms and attacks from the enemy's light

troops became incessant. The discontent all these inspired was universal, and this occasioned the great loss of the army.

Under such circumstances, had Prince Charles continued to harass us, by pursuing us into Silesia, had he made a winter campaign, instead of remaining indolently at ease in Bohemia, we certainly should not have vanquished him, the year following, at Strigau ; but he only followed at a distance, as far as the Bohemian frontiers. This gave Frederic time to recover, and the more effectually because the Austrians had the imprudence to permit the return of deserters.

This was the repetition of what had happened to Charles XII. when he suffered his Russian prisoners to return home, who afterward so effectually punished his contempt of them at the battle of Pultowa.

Prague was obliged to be abandoned, with considerable loss ; and Trenck seized on Tabor, Budweis, and Frauenberg, where he took prisoners the regiments of Walrabe and Kreutz.

No one would have been better able to give a faithful history of the campaign than myself, had I room in this place, and had I at that time been more attentive to things of moment ; since I not only performed the office of adjutant to the king when he went to reconnoitre, or choose a place of encampment, but it was, moreover, my duty to provide forage for the head quarters. The king having only permitted me to take six volunteers from the body guard, to execute this latter duty, I was obliged to add to them horse chassours, and hussars, with whom I was continually in motion. I was peculiarly fortunate on two occasions, by happening to come after the enemy, when they had left loaded waggons and forage bundles.

I seldom passed the night in my tent during this campaign ; and my indefatigable activity obtained the favour and entire confidence of Frederic. Nothing so much contributed to inspire me with emulation as the public praises I received ; and my enthusiasm wished to perform wonders.

The campaign, however, but ill supplied me with opportunities to display my youthful ardour.

At length, no one durst leave the camp, notwithstanding the extremity of the dearth, because of the innumerable clouds of pandours, and hussars, that hovered every where around.

No sooner were we arrived in Silesia than the king's body guard was sent to Berlin, there to remain in winter quarters.

I should not here have mentioned the Bohemian war, but that, while writing the history of my life, I ought not to omit accidents by which my future destiny was influenced.

One day, while at Bennaschen, I was commanded out with a detachment of thirty hussars, and twenty chasseurs, on a foraging party. I had posted my hussars in a convent, and gone myself with the chasseurs, to a mansion-house, to seize the carts necessary for the conveyance of the hay and straw from a neighbouring farm. An Austrian lieutenant of hussars, concealed with thirty-six horsemen in a wood, having remarked the weakness of my escort, taking advantage of the moment when my people were all employed in loading the carts, first seized our sentinel, and then fell suddenly upon them, and took them all prisoners in the very farm-yard. At this moment I was seated at my ease, beside the lady of the mansion-house, and was a spectator of the whole transaction through the window.

I was ashamed of and in despair at my negligence. The kind lady wished to hide me when the firing was heard in the farm-yard. By good fortune the hussars, whom I had stationed in the convent, had learnt from a peasant that there was an Austrian detachment in the wood; they had seen us at a distance enter the farm-yard, hastily marched to our aid, and we had not been taken more than two minutes before they arrived. I cannot express the pleasure with which I put myself at their head. Some of the enemy's party escaped through a back door, but we made two and twenty prisoners, with a lieutenant of the regiment of Kalnockichen: they had

two men killed and one wounded ; and two men also of my chasseurs were hewed down, by the sabre, in the hay-loft, where they were at work.

We continued our forage with more caution after this accident : the horses we had taken served, in part, to draw the carts ; and, after raising a contribution of one hundred and fifty ducats on the convent, which I distributed among the soldiers to engage them to silence, we returned to the army, from which we were distant about two leagues.

We heard firing as we marched ; and the foragers on all sides were skirmishing with the enemy. A lieutenant and forty horse joined me ; yet, with this reinforcement, I durst not return to the camp, because I learnt we were in danger from more than eight hundred pandours and hussars, who were in the plain. I therefore determined to take a long, winding, but secret route, and had the good fortune to come safe to quarters, with my prisoners, and five and twenty loaded carts. The king was at dinner when I entered his tent. Having been absent all night, it was imagined I had been taken, that accident having happened, the same day, to many others.

The instant I entered, the king demanded if I returned singly. No, please your majesty, answered I ; I have brought five and twenty load of forage, and two and twenty prisoners, with their officer and horses.

The king then commanded me to sit down, and turning himself toward the English ambassador, who was near him, said, laying his hand on my shoulder, *C'est un Matador de ma jeunesse**.

A reconnoitring party was, at the same moment, in waiting before his tent ; he consequently asked me few questions,

* Literally, " He is a matadore of my youth." The allusion, apparently, is to the restless power of the Matadore at the game of Quadrille.

The Monthly Review conjectures the true reading to be *Mata-more*. In either case the meaning seems to be " He is one of my young Hectors."

and to those he did ask I replied tremblingly. In a few minutes he rose from table, gave a glance at the prisoners, hung the Order of Merit round my neck, commanded me to go and take repose, and set off with his party.

It is easy to conceive the embarrassment of my situation ; my unpardonable negligence deserved that I should have been broken, instead of which I was rewarded ; an instance, this, of the great influence of chance on the affairs of the world. How many generals have gained victories by their very errors, which have been afterwards attributed to their genius ! It is evident, the serjeant of hussars, who retook me and my men, by bringing up his party, was much better entitled than myself to the recompense I received. On how many occasions have I since met with disgrace and punishment, when I deserved reward ! My inquietude lest the truth should be discovered was extreme, especially recollecting how many people were in the secret ; and my apprehensions were incessant.

As I did not want money, I gave the serjeants twenty ducats each, and the soldiers one, in order to insure their silence, which being a favourite with them, they readily promised. I however was determined to declare the truth the very first opportunity, and this happened a few days after.

We were on our march, and I, as cornet, was at the head of my company, when the king, advancing, beckoned me to come to him, and bade me tell him exactly how the affair I had so lately been engaged in happened.

The question at first made me mistrust I was betrayed : but, remarking the king had a mildness in his manner, I presently recovered myself, and related the exact truth. I saw the astonishment of his countenance, but at the same time saw he was pleased with my sincerity. He spoke to me for half an hour, not as a king, but as a father, praised my candour, and ended with the following words, which while life remains I shall never forget : Confide in the advice I give you ; depend wholly upon me, and I will make you a

man. Whoever can feel, may imagine how infinitely my gratitude toward the king was increased, by this his great goodness ; from that moment I had no other desire than to live and die for his service.

I soon perceived the confidence the king had in me after this explanation, of which I received very frequent marks, the following winter, at Berlin. He permitted me to be present at his conversations with the literati of his court, and my state was truly enviable.

I received, this same winter, more than five hundred ducats as presents. So much happiness could not but excite jealousy, and this began to be manifest on every side. I had too little disguise for a courtier, and my heart was much too open and frank.

Before I proceed, I will here relate an incident which happened during the last campaign, and which will, no doubt, be read in the history of Frederic.

On the route while retreating through Bohemia, the king came to Kollin, with his horse guards, the cavalry piquets of the head quarters; and the second and third battalions of guards. We had only four field pieces, and our squadron was stationed in one of the suburbs. Our advanced posts, toward evening, were driven back into the town, and the hussars entered pellmell : the enemy's light troops swarmed over the country, and my commanding officer sent me immediately to receive the king's orders. After much search, I found him at the top of a steeple, with a telescope in his hand. Never did I see him so disturbed, or undecided, as on this occasion. Orders were immediately given that we should retreat through the city into the opposite suburb, where we were to halt, but not unsaddle.

We had not been here long before a most heavy rain fell, and the night became exceedingly dark. My cousin Trenck made his approach about nine in the evening, with his pandour and janissary music, and set fire to several houses. They found we were in the suburb, and began to fire upon

as from the city windows. The tumult became extreme ; the city was too full for us to re-enter : the gate was shut, and they fired from above at us with our field pieces. Trenck had let in the waters upon us, and we were up to the girths by midnight, and almost in despair. We lost seven men, and my horse was wounded in the neck.

The king and all of us had certainly been made prisoners, had my cousin, as he has since told me, been able to continue the assault he had begun ; but, a cannon-ball having wounded him in the foot, he was carried off, and the pandours retired. The corps of Nassau arrived next day to our aid ; we quitted Kollin, and, during the march, the king said to me, " Your cousin had nearly played us a malicious prank last night ; but the deserters say he is killed." He then asked me what our relationship was, and there our conversation ended.

It was about the middle of December when we came to Berlin, where I was received with open arms. I became less cautious than formerly, and perhaps was more narrowly observed. A lieutenant of the foot guards, who was a public Ganymede, and against whom I had that natural antipathy and abhorrence I have for all such wretches, having indulged himself in some very impertinent jokes on the secret of my amour, I bestowed on him the epithet he deserved. We drew our swords, and he was wounded. On the Sunday following, I presented myself to pay my respects to his Majesty on the parade, who said to me, as he passed, " The storm and the thunder shall rend your heart ; beware*." He added nothing more.

Some little time after, I was a few minutes too late on the parade ; the king remarked it, and sent me under arrest, to the foot guard at Potsdam. When I had been here a fortnight, Col. Wartensleben came, and advised me to petition

* A common expression with Frederic when he was angry, and which has since become proverbial among Prussian and other German officers.

for pardon. I was then too much a novice in the modes of the court to follow his counsel, nor did I even remark the person who gave it me was himself a most subtle courtier. I complained bitterly that I had so long been deprived of liberty, for a fault which was usually punished by three, or, at most, six days arrest. Here, accordingly, I remained.

Eight days after, the king being come to Potzdam, I was sent by general Bourke to Berlin, to carry some letters, but without having seen the king. On my return, I presented myself to him on the parade; and as our squadron was garrisoned at Berlin, I asked, "Does it please your Majesty that I should go and join my corps?" "Whence come you?" answered he—"From Berlin"—"And where were you before you went to Berlin?"—"Under arrest"—"Then under arrest you must remain."

I did not recover my liberty till three days before our departure for Silesia, toward which we marched, with the utmost speed, in the beginning of May, to commence our second campaign.

Here I must recount an event which happened that winter, which became the source of all my misfortunes, and to which I must entreat my readers will pay the utmost attention; since this error, if innocence can be error, was the cause that the most faithful and the best of subjects became bewildered in scenes of wretchedness, and was the victim of misery, from his nineteenth to the sixtieth year of his age. I dare presume that this true narrative, supported by testimonies the most authentic, will fully vindicate my present honour, and my future memory.

Francis Baron of Trenck was the son of my father's brother, consequently my cousin-german. I shall speak, hereafter, of the singular events of his life. Being a commander of pandours in the Austrian service, and grievously wounded in Bavaria, in the year 1743, he wrote to my mother, informing her he intended me, her eldest son, for his universal legatee. This letter, to which I returned no answer, was sent to me

at Potsdam. I was so satisfied with my situation, and had such numerous reasons so to be, considering the kindness with which the king treated me, that I would not have exchanged my good fortune for all the treasures of the Great Mogul.

On the 12th of February 1744, being at Berlin, I was in company with captain Jaschinsky, commander of the body-guard, the captain of which ranks as colonel in the army, together with lieutenant Studnitz, and cornet Wagnitz. The latter was my field comrade, and is at this present commander general of the cavalry of Hesse Cassel. The Austrian Trenck became the subject of conversation, and Jaschinsky asked if I was his kinsman : I answered yes, and immediately mentioned his having made me his universal heir. "And what answer have you returned ?" said Jaschinsky—"None at all."

The whole company then observed, that in a case like the present, I was much to blame not to answer ; that the least I could do would be to thank him for his good wishes, and entreat a continuance of them. Jaschinsky further added, "Desire him to send you some of his fine Hungarian horses for your own use ; and give me the letter ; I will convey it to him, by means of Mr. Bossart, legation counsellor of the Saxon embassy ; but on condition that you will give me one of the horses. This correspondence is a family, and not a state, affair ; I will make myself responsible for the consequences."

I immediately took my commander's advice, and began to write ; and had those who suspected me thought proper to make the least inquiry into these circumstances, the four witnesses, who read what I wrote, could have attested my innocence, and rendered it indubitable. I gave my letter open to Jaschinsky, who sealed and sent it himself.

I must omit none of the incidents concerning this letter, it being the sole cause of all my sufferings. I shall there-

fore here relate an event, which was the first occasion of the unjust suspicions entertained against me.

One of my grooms, with two led horses, was, among many others, taken by the pandours of Trenck. When I returned to the camp, I was to accompany the king on a reconnoitring party. My horse was too tired, and I had no other : I informed him of my embarrassment, and his majesty immediately made me a present of a fine English courser.

Some days after, I was exceedingly astonished to see my groom return, with my two horses, and a pandour trumpeter, who brought me a letter, containing nearly the following words.

“ The Austrian Trenck is not at war with the Prussian Trenck, but on the contrary is happy to have recovered the horses from his hussars, and to return them to whom they first belonged, &c.”

I went the same day to pay my respects to the king, who, receiving me with great coldness, said, “ Since your cousin has returned your own horses, you have no more need of mine.”

There were too many who envied me to suppose these words would escape repetition. The return of the horses seems infinitely to have increased the suspicion Frederic entertained against me, and therefore became one of the principal causes of my misfortunes : it is for this reason that I dwell upon this and such like small incidents, they being necessary for my own justification, and, were it possible, for that of the king. My innocence is indeed at present universally acknowledged by the court, the army, and the whole nation ; who all mention the injustice I suffered with pity, and the fortitude with which it was endured with surprise.

We marched for Silesia, to enter on our second campaign ; which, to the Prussians, was as bloody and murderous as it was glorious.

The king's head-quarters were fixed at the convent of Kamenz, where we rested fourteen days, and the army remained in cantonments. Prince Charles, instead of following us into Bohemia, had the imprudence to occupy the plain of Strigau, and we already concluded his army was beaten. Whoever is well acquainted with tactics, and the Prussian manœuvres, will easily judge, without the aid of calculation or witchcraft, whether a well or ill-disciplined army, in an open plain, ought to be victorious.

The army hastily left its cantonments, and in twenty-four hours was in order of battle; and on the fourteenth of June, eighteen thousand bodies lay stretched on the plain of Strigau. The allied armies of Austria and Saxony were totally defeated.

The body-guard was on the right; and previous to the attack, the king said to our squadron, "Prove to-day, my children, that you are my body-guard, and give no Saxon quarter."

We made three attacks on the cavalry, and two on the infantry. Nothing could withstand a squadron like this, which, for men, horses, courage, and experience, was assuredly the first in the world. Our corps alone took seven standards and five pair of colours, and in less than an hour the affair was over.

I received a pistol shot in my right hand, my horse was desperately wounded, and I was obliged to change him on the third charge. The day after the battle, all the officers were rewarded with the Order of Merit. For my own part, I remained four weeks among the wounded, at Schweidnitz, where there were sixteen thousand men under the torture of the army surgeons, many of whom had not their wounds dressed till the third day.

I was near three months before I recovered the use of my hand; I nevertheless rejoined my corps, continued to perform my duty, and as usual accompanied the king when he went to reconnoitre. For some time past, he had placed

confidence in me, and his kindness toward me continually increased, which raised my gratitude even to enthusiasm.

I also performed the service of adjutant, during this campaign, a circumstantial account of which no person is better enabled to write than myself; I having been present at all that passed. I was the scholar of the greatest master the art of war ever knew, and who believed me worthy to receive his instructions; but the volumes I am writing would be insufficient to contain all that personally relates to myself.

I must here mention an adventure that happened at this time, and which will show the art of the great Frederic in forming youth for his service, and devotedly attaching them to his person.

I was exceedingly fond of hunting, in which, notwithstanding it was severely forbidden, I indulged myself. I one day returned laden with pheasants: but judge my astonishment, and fears, when I saw the army had decamped, and that it was with difficulty I could overtake the rear-guard.

In this my distress, I applied to an officer of hussars, who instantly lent me his horse, by the aid of which I rejoined my corps, which always marched as the vanguard. Mounting my own horse, I tremblingly rode to the head of my division, which it was my duty to precede. The king, however, had remarked my absence, or rather had been reminded of it by my superior officer, who, for some time past, had become my enemy.

Just as the army halted to encamp, the king rode toward me, and made a signal for me to approach, and, reading my fears in my countenance, said, with a smile, "What, are you just returned from hunting?"—"Yes, your majesty;—I hope—" Here, interrupting me, he added, "Well well, for this time I shall take no further notice, remembering Potzdam:—but, however, let me find you more attentive to your duty."

So ended this affair, for which I deserved to have been

broken. I must remind the reader that the king meant, by the words *remembering Potzdam*, he remembered I had been punished too severely the winter before, and that my present pardon was intended as a compensation.

This was indeed to think and act greatly : this was indeed the true art of forming great men ; an art much more effectual than that of ferocious generals, who threaten subalterns with imprisonment and chains on every slight occasion ; and, while indulging all the rigours of military law, make no distinction of minds or of men. Frederic, on the contrary, sometimes pardoned the failings of genius, while mechanic souls he mechanically punished, according to the very letter of the laws of war.

I shall further remark, the king took no more notice of my late fault, except that sometimes, when I had the honour to dine with him, he would ridicule people who were too often at the chase, or who were so choleric that they took occasion to quarrel for the least trifle.

The campaign passed in different manœuvres, marches, and countermarches. Our corps was the most fatigued, as being encamped round the king's tent, the station of which was central, and as likewise having the care of the vanguard : we were therefore obliged to begin our march two hours sooner than the remainder of the army, that we might be in our place. We also accompanied the king, whenever he went to reconnoitre ; traced the lines of encampment ; led the horses to water ; inspected the head-quarters ; and regulated the march and encampment, according to the king's orders ; the performance of all which robbed us of much rest, we being but six officers to execute so many different functions.

Still further, we often executed the office of couriers, to bear the royal commands to detachments. The king was particularly careful that the officers of his guards, whom he intended should become excellent in the art of tactics, should not be idle in his school. It was necessary to do much,

in order that much might be learnt. Labour, vigilance, activity, the love of glory, and the love of their country, animated all his generals ; into whom, it may be said, he infused his spirit.

In this school I gained instruction, and here already was I selected, as one destined to instruct others : yet, in my fortieth year, a great general at Vienna told me, " My dear Trenck, our discipline would be too difficult for you to learn ; for which indeed you are too far advanced in life." Agreeable to this wise decision was I made an Austrian invalid, and an invalid have always remained : a judgment like this would have been laughed at most certainly at Berlin.

If I mistake not, the famous battle of Soor, or Sorau, was fought on the 14th day of September. The king had sent so many detachments into Saxony, Bohemia, and Silesia, that the main army did not consist of more than twenty-five thousand men. Neglecting advice, and obstinate in judging his enemy by numbers, and not according to the excellence of discipline, and other accidents, prince Charles, blind to the real strength of the Prussian armies, had enclosed this small number of Pomeranian and Brandenburg regiments with more than eighty-six thousand men, intending to take them all prisoners.

It will soon be seen, from my narrative, with what kind of secrecy his plan was laid and executed.

The king came into my tent about midnight ; as he also did into that of all the officers, to awaken them : his orders were, " Secretly to saddle, leave the baggage in the rear, and that the men should stand ready to mount at the word of command."

Lieutenant Studnitz and myself attended the king, who went in person, and gave directions through the whole army : mean time, break of day was expected with anxiety.

Opposite the defile, through which the enemy was to march to the attack, eight field-pieces were concealed behind a hill. The king must, necessarily, have been informed

of the whole plan of the Austrian general, for he had called in the advanced posts from the heights, that he might lull him into security, and make him imagine we should be surprised in the midst of sleep.

Scarcely did break of day appear, before the Austrian artillery, situated upon the heights, began to play upon our camp, and their cavalry to march, through the defile, to the attack.

As suddenly were we in battle array ; for in less than ten minutes we ourselves began the attack, notwithstanding the smallness of our number, the whole army only containing five regiments of cavalry. We fell with such fury upon the enemy (who at this time were wholly employed in forming their men at the mouth of the defile, and that slowly, little expecting so sudden and violent a charge), that we drove them back into the defile, where they pressed upon each other in crowds : the king himself stood ready to unmask his eight field-pieces, and a dreadful and bloody slaughter ensued in this narrow place, from which the enemy had not the power to retreat. This single incident gained the battle, and deceived all the hopes of prince Charles.

Nadasti, Trenck, and the light troops, sent to attack our rear, were employed in pillaging the camp. The ferocious Croats met no opposition, while this their error made our victory more secure. It deserves to be noticed, that when advice was brought to the king that the enemy had fallen upon and were plundering the camp, his answer was, " So much the better ; they have found themselves employment, and will be no impediment to our main design."

Our victory was complete, but all our baggage was lost ; the head-quarters, utterly undefended, were totally stripped ; and Trenck had, for his part of the booty, the king's tent, and his service of plate.

I have mentioned this circumstance here, because that, in the year 1746, my cousin Trenck having fallen into the power of his enemies, who had instituted a legal process

against him, was accused, by some villainous wretches, of having surprised the king in bed at the battle of Sorau, and of having afterwards released him for a bribe.

What was still worse, they hired a common prostitute, a native of Brunn, who pretended she was the daughter of marshal Schwerin, to give in evidence that she herself was in bed with the king when Trenck entered his tent, whom he immediately made prisoner, and as immediately released.

To this part of the prosecution I myself, an eye-witness, can answer : the thing was false and impossible. He was informed of the intended attack. I accompanied the watchful king from midnight till four in the morning, which time he employed in riding through the camp, and making the necessary preparations to receive the enemy : and the action began at five. Trenck could not take the king in bed, for the battle was almost gained when he and his pandours entered the camp, and plundered the head-quarters.

As for the tale of Miss Schwerin, it is only fit to be told by school-boys, or examined by the inquisition, and was very unworthy of making part of a legal prosecution against an innocent man at Vienna.

This incident, however, is so remarkable, that I shall give, in this work, a farther account of my kinsman, and what was called his criminal process ; at reading which the world will be astonished. My own history is so connected with his, that this is necessary ; and the more so, because there are many ignorant or wicked people at Vienna, who believe, or affirm, Trenck had actually taken the king of Prussia prisoner.

Never yet was there a traitor of the name of Trenck ; and I hope to prove, in the clearest manner, the Austrian Trenck as faithfully served the empress queen as the Prussian Trenck did Frederic, his king. Maria Theresa, speaking to me of him some time after his death, and the snares that had been laid for him, said, “ Your kinsman has made a better end than will be the fate of his accusers and judges.”

Of this more hereafter : I approach that epocha when my own misfortunes began, and when the sufferings of martyrdom attended me from my youth onward till my hairs grew grey.

A few days after the battle of Sorau, the usual camp postman brought me a letter from my cousin Trenck, the colonel of pandours, antedated at Essek four months, of which the following is a copy.

“ Your letter, of the twelfth of February, from Berlin, informs me you desire to have some Hungarian horses. On these you would come and attack me and my pandours. I saw, with pleasure, during the last campaign, that the Prussian Trenck was a good soldier ; and that I might give you some proofs of my attachment, I then returned the horses which my men had taken. If, however, you wish to have Hungarian horses, you must take mine, in like manner, from me in the field of battle ; or, should you so think fit, come and join one who will receive you with open arms, like his friend and son, and who will procure you every advantage you can desire.”

At first I was terrified at reading this letter, yet could not help smiling. Cornet Wagenitz, now general in chief of the Hesse Cassel forces, and lieutenant Grotthausen, both now alive, and then present, were my camp comrades. I gave them the letter to read, and they laughed at its contents. It was determined to show it to our superior officer, Jaschinsky, on a promise of secrecy ; and it was accordingly shewn him within an hour after it was received.

The reader will be so kind as to recollect, that, as I have before said, it was this colonel Jaschinsky who, on the 12th of February, the same year, at Berlin, prevailed on me to write to the Austrian Trenck, my cousin ; that he received the letter open, and undertook to send it according to its address ; also that, in this letter, I had, in jest, asked him to send me some Hungarian horses ; and, should they come, had promised one to Jaschinsky. He read the letter

With an air of surprise ; we laughed, and it being whispered through the army that in consequence of our late victory detached corps would be sent into Hungary, Jaschinsky said, " We shall now go and take Hungarian horses for ourselves." Here the conversation ended, and I, little suspecting future consequences, returned to my tent.

I must here make the following observations :

1st. I had not observed the date of the letter brought by the postman, which, as I have said, was antedated four months : this however the colonel did not fail to remark.

2ndly. The probability is that this was a net spread for me by this false and wicked man. The return of my horses, during the preceding campaign, had been the subject of much conversation. It is possible he had the king's orders to watch me ; but more probably he only prevailed on me to write that he might entrap me by a fictitious answer. Certain it is, my cousin Trenck, at Vienna, affirmed to his death he never received any letter from me, consequently never could send any answer. I must therefore conclude this letter was forged.

Jaschinsky was at this time one of the king's favourites ; his spy over the army ; a tale-bearer ; an inventor of lies and wicked calumnies. Some years after the event of which I am now speaking, the king was obliged to break and banish him the country.

He was then also the paramour of the beauteous Madame Brossart, wife of the Saxon resident at Berlin ; and there can be little doubt but that this false letter was, by her means, conveyed to some Saxon or Austrian post-office, and thence, according to its address, sent to me. He had daily opportunities of infusing suspicions into the king's mind concerning me ; and, unknown to me, of pursuing his diabolical plan.

I must likewise add, he was four hundred ducats indebted to me. At that time I had always a plentiful supply of money. This booty became his own when I, unexamined,

was arrested, and thrown into prison. In like manner he seized on the greatest part of my camp equipage.

Further, we had quarrelled during our first campaign, because he had beaten one of my servants; we even were proceeding to fight with pistols, had not colonel Winterfeld interfered, and amicably ended our quarrel. The Lithuanian is, by nature, obstinate and revengeful; and, from that day, I have reason to believe he sought my destruction.

God only knows what were the means he took to excite the king's suspicions; for it is incredible that Frederic, considering his *well-known professions* of public justice, should treat me in the manner he did, without a hearing, without examination, and without a court-martial. This to me has ever remained a mystery, which the king alone was able to explain: he afterwards was convinced I was innocent; but my sufferings had been too cruel, and the miseries he had inflicted too horrible, for me ever to hope compensation.

In an affair of this nature, which will soon be known to all Europe, as it long has been in Prussia, the weakest is always guilty. I have been made a terrible example, to this our age, how true that maxim is in despotic states.

A man of my rank, having once unjustly suffered, and having the power of making his sufferings known, must either be highly rewarded, or still more unjustly punished. My name and injuries will ever stain the annals of Frederic the Great; even those who read this book will perhaps suppose that I, from political motives of hope or fear, have sometimes concealed truth, by endeavouring to palliate his conduct.

It must ever remain incomprehensible, that a monarch so clear-sighted, himself the daily witness of my demeanor, one well acquainted with mankind, and conscious I wanted neither money, honour, nor hope of future preferment; I say it is incomprehensible that he should really suppose me guilty. I take God to witness, and all those who knew me

in prosperity and misfortune, I never harboured a thought of betraying my country. How was it possible to suspect me? I was neither madman nor idiot. In my eighteenth year I was a cornet of the body-guard, adjutant to the king, and possessed his favour and confidence in the highest degree. His presents to me, in one year, amounted to fifteen hundred dollars. I kept seven horses, four men in livery: I was valued, distinguished, and beloved by the mistress of my soul. My relations held high offices, both civil and military: I was even fanatically devoted to my king and country, and had nothing to wish.

That I should become thus wretched, in consequence of this unfortunate letter, is equally wonderful: it came by the public post. Had there been any criminal correspondence, my kinsman certainly would not have chosen this mode of conveyance; since, it is well known, all such letters are opened; nor could I act more openly. My colonel read the letter I wrote; and also that which I received, immediately after it was brought.

The day after the receipt of this letter I was, as I have before said, unheard, unaccused, unjudged, conducted, like a criminal, from the army, by fifty hussars, and imprisoned in the fortress of Glatz. I was allowed to take three horses, and my servants, but my whole equipage was left behind, which I never saw more, and which became the booty of Jaschinsky. My commission was given to cornet Schatzel, and I cashiered, without knowing why. There were no legal inquiries made; all was done by the king's command.

Unhappy people! where power is superior to law, and where the innocent and the virtuous meet punishment instead of reward. Unhappy land! where the omnipotent SUCH IS OUR WILL supersedes all legal sentence, and robs the subject of property, life, and honour.

I once more repeat I was brought to the citadel of Glatz: I was not however thrown into a dungeon, but imprisoned in a chamber of the officer of the guard; was allowed my

servants to wait on me, and permitted to walk on the ramparts. I did not want money, and there was only a detachment, from the garrison regiment, in the citadel of Glatz, the officers of which were all poor. I soon had both friends and freedom, and the rich prisoner every day kept open table.

He only who had known me in this the ardour of my youth, who had witnessed how high I aspired, and the fortune that attended me at Berlin, can imagine what my feelings were, at finding myself thus suddenly cast from my high hopes.

I wrote submissively to the king, requesting to be tried by a court-martial, and not desiring any favour, should I be found guilty. This haughty tone, in a youth, was displeasing, and I received no answer, which threw me into despair, and induced me to use every possible means to obtain my liberty.

My first care was to establish, by the intervention of an officer, a certain correspondence with the object of my heart. She answered, she was far from supposing I had ever entertained the least thought traitorous to my country; that she knew, too well, I was perfectly incapable of dissimulation. She blamed the precipitate anger, and unjust suspicions, of the king; promised me speedy aid, and sent me a thousand ducats.

Had I, at this critical moment, possessed a prudent and intelligent friend, who could have calmed my impatience, nothing perhaps might have been more easy than to have obtained pardon of the king, by proving my innocence; or, it may be, than to have induced him to punish my enemies. But the officers who were then at Glatz fed the flame of discontent. They supposed the money I so freely distributed came all from Hungary, furnished by the pandour chest; and advised me not to suffer my freedom to depend upon the will of the king, but to enjoy it in his despite.

It was not more easy to give this advice than to persuade a man to take it, who, till then, had never encountered any thing but good fortune, and who consequently supported

this reverse with impatience. I was not yet however determined, because I could not yet resolve to abandon my country, and especially Berlin.

Five months soon passed away in prison : peace was concluded ; the king was returned to his capital ; my commission in the guards was bestowed on another, when lieutenant Piaschky, of the regiment of Fouquet, and ensign Reitz, who often mounted guard over me, proposed that they and I should escape together. I yielded, our plan was fixed, and every preparatory step taken.

At that time there was another prisoner at Glatz whose name was Manget, by birth a Swiss, and captain of cavalry in the Natzmerschen hussars : he had been condemned by a court martial to ten years imprisonment, with allowance of only four rix-dollars per month.

Having done this man kindnesses, I was resolved to rescue him from bondage, at the same time that I obtained freedom for myself. I communicated my design, and made the proposal, which was accepted by him, and measures were taken ; yet were we betrayed by this vile man, who thus purchased pardon and liberty.

Piaschky, who had been informed that Reitz was arrested, saved himself by deserting. I denied the fact in presence of Manget, with whom I was confronted, and bribed the auditor with a hundred ducats. By this means Reitz only suffered a year's imprisonment, and the loss of his commission. I was afterwards closely confined in a chamber, for having endeavoured to corrupt the king's officers, and was guarded with greater caution.

Here I will interrupt my narrative, for a moment, to relate an adventure which happened between me and this captain Manget, three years after he had thus betrayed me, that is to say in 1749, at Warsaw.

I there met him by chance, and it is not difficult to imagine what was the salutation he received. I caned him ; he took this ill, and challenged me to fight with pistols. Captain

Heuckin, of the Polish guards, was my second. We both fired together : I shot him through the neck at the first shot, and he fell dead on the field.

He, alone, of all my enemies, ever died by my own hand ; and he well merited his end, for his cowardly treachery toward the two brave fellows of whom I have spoken ; and still more so with respect to myself, who had been his benefactor. I own, I have never reproached myself for this duel, by which I sent a rascal out of the world.

I return to my tale. My destiny at Glatz was now become more untoward and severe. The king's suspicions were increased, as likewise was his anger, by this my late attempt to escape.

Left to myself, I considered my situation in the worst point of view, and determined either on flight or death. The length and closeness of my confinement became insupportable to my impatient temper.

I had always had the garrison on my side, nor was it possible to prevent my making friends among them. They knew I had money, and, in a poor garrison regiment, the officers of which are all dissatisfied, having most of them been draughted from other corps and sent thither as a punishment, there was nothing that might not be undertaken.

My scheme was as follows :

My window looked toward the city, and was ninety feet from the ground in the tower of the citadel, out of which I could not get, without having found a place of refuge in the city.

This an officer undertook to procure me, and prevailed on an honest soap-boiler to grant me a hiding-place. I then notched my penknife, and sawed through three large iron bars ; but this mode was too tedious, it being necessary to file away eight bars from my window, before I could pass through : another officer therefore procured me a file, which I was obliged to use with caution, lest I should be overheard by the centinels.

Having ended this labour, I cut my leather portmanteau into thongs, sewed them end to end, added the sheets of my bed, and descended safely from this astonishing height.

It rained, the night was dark, and all seemed fortunate ; but I had to wade through moats full of mud, before I could enter the city, a circumstance I had never once considered. I sunk up to the knees, and after long struggling and incredible efforts to extricate myself, I was obliged to call the centinel, and desire him to go, and tell the governor, Trenck was stuck fast in the moat.

My misfortune was the greater on this occasion, because that general Fouquet was then governor of Glatz. He was one of the cruellest of men. He had been wounded by my father in a duel ; and the Austrian Trenck had taken his baggage in 1744, and had also laid the country of Glatz under contribution. He was therefore an enemy to the very name of Trenck ; nor did he lose any opportunity of giving me proofs of his enmity, and especially on the present occasion, when he left me standing in the mire till noon, the sport of the soldiers. I was then drawn out, half dead, only again to be imprisoned, and shut up the whole day, without water to wash me. No one can imagine how I looked, exhausted and dirty, my long hair having fallen into the mud, with which, by my struggling, it was loaded. I remained in this condition till the next day, when two fellow prisoners were sent to assist and clean me.

My imprisonment now became more intolerable. I had still eight louis d'ors in my purse, which had not been taken from me at my removal into another dungeon, and these afterwards did me good service.

The passions soon all assailed me at once, and impetuous, boiling, youthful blood overpowered reason ; hope disappeared ; I thought myself the most unfortunate of men, and my king an irreconcilable judge. More wrathful and more fortified in suspicion by my own rashness, my nights were sleepless, my days miserable : my soul was tortured by the

desire of fame : a consciousness of innocence was a continued stimulus inciting me to end my misfortunes. Youth, inexperienced in woe and disastrous feat, beholds every evil magnified, and desponds on every new disappointment, more especially after having failed in attempting freedom. Education had taught me to despise death, and these opinions had been confirmed by my friend La Metrie, author of the famous work *L'Homme Machine*, or Man a Machine.

I read much during my confinement at Glatz, where books were allowed me ; time was therefore less tedious : but when the love of liberty awoke, when fame and affection called me to Berlin, and my balked hopes painted the wretchedness of my situation ; when I remembered that my loved country, judging by appearances, could not but pronounce me a traitor ; then was I hourly impelled to rush on the naked bayonets of my guards, by whom, to me, the road of freedom was barred.

Big with such-like thoughts, eight days had not elapsed, since my last fruitless attempt to escape, when an event happened which would appear incredible, were I, the principal actor in the scene, not alive to attest its truth, and might not all Glatz, and the Prussian garrison, be produced as eye and ear witnesses. This incident will prove that adventurous, and even rash daring will render the most improbable undertakings possible, and that desperate attempts may often make a general more fortunate, and famous, than the wisest and best-concerted plans.

Major Doo* came to visit me, accompanied by an officer of the guard, and an adjutant. After examining every corner of my chamber, he addressed me, taxing me with a

* The same Doo who was governor of Glatz during the seven years' war, and who, having been surprised by general Laudohn, was made prisoner, which occasioned the loss of Glatz. The king broke him with infamy, and banished him with contempt. In 1764, he came to Vienna, where I gave him alms. He was by birth an Italian, a selfish, wicked man ; and, while major under

second crime in endeavouring to obtain my liberty ; adding, this must certainly increase the anger of the king.

My blood boiled at the word crime : he talked of patience ; I asked him how long the king had condemned me to imprisonment ? He answered, “ A traitor to his country, who has corresponded with the enemy, cannot be condemned for a certain time ; but must depend, for grace and pardon, on the king”

At that instant I snatched his sword from his side, on which my eyes had some time been fixed, sprang out of the door, tumbled the centinel from the top to the bottom of the stairs, passed the men who happened to be drawn up before the prison door to relieve guard, attacked them sword in hand, threw them suddenly into surprise by the manner in which I laid about me, wounded four of them, made through the rest, sprang over the breast-work of the ramparts, and, with my sword drawn in my hand, immediately leaped this astonishing height, without receiving the least injury. I leaped the second wall with equal safety and good fortune. None of their pieces were loaded : no one durst leap after me, and, in order to pursue, they must go round through the town and the gate of the citadel ; so that I had the start full half an hour.

A centinel, however, in a narrow passage endeavoured to oppose my flight, but I parried his fixed bayonet, and wounded him in the face. A second centinel, meantime, ran from the outworks, to seize me behind, and I, to avoid him, made a spring at the palisadoes ; there I was unluckily caught by the foot, and received a bayonet wound in my upper lip : thus entangled, they beat me with the butt-end of the government of Fouquet, at Glatz, brought many people to misery. He was the creature of Fouquet, without birth or merit, crafty, malignant, but handsome ; and, having debauched his patron's daughter, afterwards married her ; whence at first his good, and at length his ill, fortune. He wanted knowledge to defend a fortress against the enemy, and his covetousness rendered him easy to corrupt.

their muskets, and dragged me back to prison, while I struggled and defended myself like a man grown desperate.

Certain it is, had I more carefully jumped the palisadoes, and dispatched the centinel who opposed me, I might have escaped, and gained the mountains. Thus might I have fled to Bohemia, after having, at noon day, broken from the fortress of Glatz, sprung past all its centinels, over all its walls, and passed with impunity, in despite of the guard, who were under arms, ready to oppose me. I should not, having a sword, have feared any single opponent, and was able to contend with the swiftest runners.

That good fortune which had so far attended me, forsook me at the palisadoes, where hope was at an end. The severities of imprisonment were increased; two centinels and an under officer were locked in with me, and were themselves guarded by centinels without: I was beaten and wounded by the butt-end of their muskets, my right foot was sprained, I spit blood, and my wounds were not cured in less than a month.

I was now first informed the king had only condemned me to a year's imprisonment, in order to learn whether his suspicions were well founded. My mother had petitioned for me, and was answered, "Your son must remain a year imprisoned, as a punishment for his rash correspondence."

Of this I was ignorant, and it was reported in Glatz, that my imprisonment was for life. I had only three weeks longer to repine for the loss of liberty, when I made this rash attempt. What must the king think? Was he not obliged to act with this severity? How could prudence excuse my impatience, thus to risk a confiscation, when I was certain of receiving freedom, justification, and honour, in three weeks? But such was my adverse fate, circumstances all tended to injure and persecute me, till at length I gave reason to suppose I was a traitor, notwithstanding the purity of my intentions.

Once more, then, was I in a dungeon ; and no sooner was I there than I formed new projects of flight. I first gained the intimacy of my guards. I had money, and this, with the compassion I had inspired, might effect any thing among discontented Prussian soldiers. Soon had I gained thirty-two men, who were ready to execute, on the first signal, whatever I should command. Two or three excepted, they were unacquainted with each other ; they consequently could not all be betrayed at a time ; and I had chosen the sub-officer, Nicholai, to head them.

The garrison consisted only of one hundred and twenty men from the garrison regiment, the rest being dispersed in the country of Glatz, and four officers their commanders, three of whom were in my interest. Every thing was prepared ; swords and pistols were concealed in an oven, which was in my prison. We intended to give liberty to all the prisoners, and retire with drums beating into Bohemia.

Unfortunately, an Austrian deserter, to whom Nicholai had imparted our design, went and discovered our conspiracy. The governor instantly sent his adjutant to the citadel, with orders that the officer on guard should arrest Nicholai, and, with his men, take possession of the casemate.

Nicholai was one of the guard, and the lieutenant was my friend, and being in the secret, gave the signal that all was discovered. Nicholai only knew all the conspirators, several of whom were that day on guard. He instantly formed his resolution, leaped into the casemate crying, "Comrades, to arms, we are betrayed !" All followed to the guard-house, where they seized on the cartridges, the officer having only eight men, and, threatening to fire on whoever should offer resistance, came to deliver me from prison ; but the iron door was too strong, and the time too short, for that to be demolished. Nicholai, calling to me, bid me aid them, but in vain ; and perceiving nothing more could be done for me, this brave man, headed nineteen others, marched to the gate of the citadel, where there was a sub

officer and ten soldiers, obliged these to accompany him, and thus arrived safely at Braunau, in Bohemia; for before the news was spread through the city, and men were collected for the pursuit, they were nearly half way on their journey.

Two years after, I met this extraordinary man at Ofenbourg, where he was a writer: he entered immediately into my service, and became my friend; but died some months after of a burning fever, at my quarters in Hungary, at which I was deeply grieved, for his memory will ever be dear to me.

Now I was exposed to all the storms of ill fortune: a prosecution was entered against me as a conspirator, who wanted to corrupt the officers and soldiers of the king. They commanded me to name the remaining conspirators; but to these questions I made no answer except by steadfastly declaring I was an innocent prisoner, an officer unjustly broken; unjustly, because I had never been brought to trial; that consequently I was released from all my engagements; nor could it be thought extraordinary that I should avail myself of that law of nature which gives every man a right to defend his honour defamed, and seek by every possible means to regain his liberty; that such had been my sole purpose in every enterprise I had formed, and such should still continue to be; for I was determined to persist, till I should either be crowned with success, or lose my life in the attempt.

Things thus remained; every precaution was taken, except that I was not put in irons; it being a law in Prussia that no gentleman, or officer, can be loaded with chains, unless he has first for some crime been delivered over to the executioner; and certainly this had not been my case.

The soldiers were withdrawn from my chamber; but the greatest ill was, I had expended all my money, and my kind mistress at Berlin, with whom I had always corresponded, which my persecutors could not prevent, at last wrote—

“ My tears flow with yours ; the evil is without remedy—I dare no more—escape if you can. My fidelity will ever be the same, when it shall be possible for me to serve you.—Adieu !—unhappy friend ! you merit a better fate.”

This letter was a thunderbolt :—my comfort however still was, that the officers were not suspected, and that it was their duty to visit my chamber several times a-day and examine what passed : from which circumstance I felt my hopes somewhat revive. Hence an adventure happened, which is almost unexampled in tales of knight-errantry.

A lieutenant, whose name was Bach, a Dane by nation, mounted guard every fourth day, and was the terror of the whole garrison ; for, being a perfect master of arms, he was incessantly involved in quarrels, and generally left his marks behind him. He had served in two regiments, neither of which would associate with him for this reason, and he had been sent to the garrison regiment at Glatz as a punishment.

Bach, one day, sitting beside me, related how the evening before he had wounded a lieutenant of the name of Schell, in the arm. I replied, laughing, “ Had I my liberty, I believe you would find some trouble in wounding me, for I have some skill in the sword.” The blood instantly flew in his face ; we split off a kind of a pair of foils from an old door, which had served me as a table, and at the first lunge I hit him on the breast.

His rage became ungovernable, and he left the prison. What was my astonishment when, a moment after, I saw him return with two soldier’s swords, which he had concealed under his coat ! “ Now then, boaster, prove,” said he, giving me one of them, “ what thou art able to do !” I endeavoured to pacify him, by representing the danger, but ineffectually. He attacked me with the utmost fury, and I wounded him in the arm.

Throwing his sword down, he fell upon my neck, kissed

me, and wept. At length after some convulsive emotions of pleasure, he said, "Friend, thou art my master; and thou must, thou shalt, by my aid, obtain thy liberty, as certainly as my name is Bach." We bound up his arm as well as we could. He left me, and secretly went to a surgeon, to have it properly dressed, and at night returned.

He now remarked that it was humanly impossible I should escape, unless the officer on guard should desert with me; that he wished nothing more ardently than to sacrifice his life in my behalf, but that he could not resolve so far to forget his honour and duty as to desert himself, while on guard: he notwithstanding gave me his word of honour he would find me such a person in a few days, and that, in the mean time, he would prepare every thing for my flight.

He returned the same evening, bringing with him lieutenant Schell, and as he entered said, "Here is your man." Schell embraced me, gave his word of honour, and thus was the affair settled, and, as it proved, my liberty ascertained.

We soon began to deliberate on the means necessary to obtain our purpose. Schell was just come from garrison at Habelchwert to the citadel of Glatz, and in two days was to mount guard over me, till when our attempt was suspended. I have before said, I received no more supplies from my beloved mistress, and my purse at that time only contained some six pistoles. It was therefore resolved that Bach should go to Schweidnitz, and obtain money of a sure friend of mine in that city.

Here I must inform the reader that, at this period, the officers and I all understood each other, Captain Roder alone excepted, who was exact, rigid, and gave trouble on all occasions*.

Major Quaadt was my kinsman, by my mother's side; a good friendly man, and ardently desirous I should escape,

* I shall give a farther account in my narrative of this man, which will both astonish and instruct the reader.

seeing my calamities were so much increased. The four lieutenants, who successively mounted guard over me, were Bach, Schroeder, Lunitz, and Schell. The first was the grand projector, and made all the preparations ; Schell was to desert with me ; and Schroeder and Lunitz, three days after, were to follow.

No one ought to be surprised that officers of garrison regiments should be so ready to desert. They are, in general, either men of violent passions, quarrelsome, overwhelmed with debts, or unfit for service. They are usually sent to the garrison as a punishment, and are called the refuse of the army. Dissatisfied with their situation, their pay much reduced, and despised by the troops, such men, expecting advantage, may be brought to engage in the most desperate undertaking. None of them can hope for their discharge, and they live in the utmost poverty. They all hoped, by my means, to better their fortune, I always having had money enough ; and with money nothing is more easy than to find friends, in places where each individual is desirous of escaping from slavery.

The talents of Schell were of a superior order : he spoke and wrote six languages, and was well acquainted with all the fine arts. He had served in the regiment of Fouquet, had been injured by his colonel, who was a Pomeranian : and Fouquet, who was no friend to well-informed officers, had sent him to a garrison regiment. He had twice demanded his dismissal, but the king sent him then to this species of imprisonment ; he then determined to avenge himself by deserting, and was ready to aid me in recovering my freedom, that he might by that means spite Fouquet.

I shall speak more hereafter of this extraordinary man, that I may not in this place interrupt my story.—We determined every thing should be prepared against the first time Schell mounted guard, and that our project should be executed on the next. Thus, as he mounted guard every four days, the eighth was to be that of our flight.

The governor mean-time had been informed how familiar I was become with the officers ; at which taking offence, he sent orders that my door should no more be opened, but that I should receive my food through a small window that had been made for that purpose. The care of the prison was committed to the major, and he was forbidden to eat with me, under pain of being broken.

His precautions were ineffectual ; the officers procured a false key, and remained with me half the day and night.

Captain Damnitz was imprisoned in an apartment by the side of mine. This man had deserted from the Prussian service, with the money belonging to his company, to Austria, where he obtained a commission in his cousin's regiment, who having prevailed on him to serve as a spy, during the campaign of 1744, he was taken in the Prussian territories, known, and condemned to be hanged.

Some Swedish volunteers, who were then in the army, interested themselves in his behalf, and his sentence was changed to perpetual imprisonment, with a sentence of infamy.

This wretch, who, two years after, by the aid of his protectors, not only obtained his liberty, but a lieutenant-colonel's commission, was the secret spy of the major over the prisoners ; and he remarked that, notwithstanding the express prohibition laid on the officers, they still passed the greater part of their time in my company.

The 24th of December came, and Schell mounted guard. He entered my prison immediately, where he continued a long time ; and we made our arrangements for flight when he next should mount guard.

Lieutenant Schroeder that day dined with the governor, and heard orders given to the adjutant that Schell should be taken from the guard, and put under arrest.

Schroeder, who was in the secret, had no doubt but that we were betrayed, not knowing that the spy Damnitz had informed the governor that Schell was then in my chamber.

Schroeder, full of terror, came running to the citadel, and said to Schell, "Save thyself, friend ; all is discovered, and thou wilt instantly be put under arrest."

Schell might easily have provided for his own safety, by flying singly, Schroeder having prepared horses, on one of which he himself offered to accompany him into Bohemia.

How did this worthy man, in a moment so dangerous, act toward his friend ?

Running suddenly into my prison, he drew a corporal's sabre from under his coat, and said, "Friend, we are betrayed ; follow me, only do not suffer me to fall alive into the hands of my enemies."

I would have spoken, but interrupting me, and taking me by the hand, he added, "Follow me, we have not a moment to lose." I therefore slipped on my coat and boots, without having time to take the little money I had left ; and, as we went out of the prison, Schell said to the centinel, "I am taking the prisoner into the officer's apartment ; stand where you are."

Into this room we really went, but passed out at the other door. The design of Schell was to go under the arsenal, which was not far off, to gain the covered way, leap the palisadoes, and afterward escape after the best manner we might. We had scarcely gone a hundred paces before we met the adjutant and major Quaadt.

Schell started back, sprang upon the rampart, and leaped from the wall, which was there not very high. I followed, and alighted unhurt, except having grazed my shoulder. My poor friend was not so fortunate, having put out his ankle. He immediately drew his sword, presented it to me, and begged me to dispatch him, and fly. He was a small weak man ; but, far from complying with his request, I took him in my arms, threw him over the palisadoes, afterwards got him on my back, and began to run, without very well knowing which way I went.

It may not be unnecessary to remark those fortunate circumstances that favoured our enterprise.

The sun had just set as we took to flight ; the hoar frost fell. No one would run the risk that we had done, by making so dangerous a leap. We heard a terrible noise behind us. Every body knew us ; but before they could go round the citadel, and through the town, in order to pursue us, we had got a full half league.

The alarm guns were fired before we were a hundred paces distant ; at which my friend was very much terrified, knowing that, in such cases, it was generally impossible to escape from Glatz, unless the fugitives had got the start full two hours before the alarm guns were heard ; the passes being immediately all stopped by the peasants and hussars, who are exceedingly vigilant. No sooner is a prisoner missed than the gunner runs from the guard house and fires the cannon on the three sides of the fortress, which are kept loaded day and night for that purpose.

We were not five hundred paces from the walls when all, before us and behind us, were in motion. It was day-light when we leaped, yet was our attempt as fortunate as it was wonderful. This I attribute to my presence of mind, and the reputation I had already acquired, which made it thought a service of danger for two or three men to attack me.

It was, beside, imagined we were well provided with arms for our defence ; and it was little suspected that Scheli had only his sword, and I an old corporal's sabre.

Among the officers commanded to pursue us, was lieutenant Bart, my intimate friend. Captain Zerbst, of the regiment of Fouquet, who had always testified the kindness of a brother toward me, met us on the Bohemian frontiers, and called to me,—“ Make to the left brother, and you will see some lone houses, which are on the Bohemian confines ; the hussars have rode straight forward.” He then passed on, as if he had not seen us.

We had nothing to fear from the officers ; for the intimacy

between the Prussian officers was at that time so great, and the word of honour so sacred, that during my rigorous detention at Glatz I had been once six and thirty hours hunting at Neurode, at the seat of baron Stillfriede : Lunitz had taken my place in the prison, which the major knew when he came to make his visit. Hence may be conjectured how great was the confidence in which the word of the unfortunate Trenck was held at Glatz ; since they did not fear letting him leave his dungeon, and hunt on the very confines of Bohemia. This too shows the governor was deceived, in despite of his watchfulness and orders ; and that a man of honour, with money, and a good head and heart, will never want friends.

These my memoirs will be the picture of what the national character then was ; and will prove that, with officers who lived liked brothers, and held their words so sacred, the great Frederic well might vanquish his enemies.

Arbitrary power has now introduced the whip of slavery, and mechanic subordination has eradicated those noble and rational incitements to concord and honour. Instead of which, mistrust and slavish fear have arisen ; the enthusiastic spirit of the Brandenburg warrior declines ; and into this error have most of the other European states fallen.

Scarcely had I borne my friend three hundred paces before I sat him down, and looked round me ; but darkness came on so fast that I could see neither town nor citadel ; consequently we ourselves could not be seen.

My presence of mind did not forsake me : death or freedom was my determination. " Where are we, Schell ?" said I to my friend ; " where does Bohemia lie ? On which side is the river Neiss ?" The worthy man could make no answer : his mind was all confusion, and he despaired of our escape : he still, however, intreated I would not let him be taken alive ; and affirmed my labour was all in vain.

After having promised, by all that was sacred, I would save him from an infamous death, if no other means were

left, and thus raised his spirits, he looked round, and knew by some trees we were not far from the city gates. I asked him, Where is the Neiss? He pointed sideways—"All Glatz has seen us fly toward the Bohemian mountains; it is impossible we should avoid the hussars, the passes being all guarded, and we beset with enemies." So saying, I took him on my shoulders, and carried him to the Neiss: here we distinctly heard the alarm sounding in the villages; and the peasants, who likewise were to form the line of desertion, were every-where in motion, and spreading the alarm. As it may not be known to all my readers in what manner they proceed on these occasions in Prussia, I will here give a short account of it.

Officers are daily named, on the parade, whose duty it is to follow fugitives as soon as the alarm guns are fired.

The peasants in the villages, likewise, are daily appointed to run to the guard of certain posts. The officers immediately fly to these posts to see that the peasants do their duty, and prevent the prisoner's escape. Thus does it seldom happen that a soldier can effect his escape, unless he be, at the very least, an hour on his road before the alarm guns were fired.

I now return to my story.

I came to the Neiss, which was a little frozen, entered it with my friend, and carried him as long as I could wade; and when I could not feel the bottom, which did not continue for more than a space of eighteen feet, he clung round me, and thus we got safely to the other shore.

My father taught all his sons to swim, for which I have often had to thank him; since by means of this art, which is easily learnt in childhood, I had on various occasions preserved my life, and was more bold in danger. Princes who wish to make their subjects soldiers, should have them educated so as to fear neither fire nor water. How great would be the advantage of being able to cross a river with whole battalions, when it is necessary to attack, or retreat before

the enemy, and when time will not permit to prepare bridges ! The reader will easily suppose swimming in the midst of December, and remaining afterwards eighteen hours in the open air, was a severe hardship. About seven o'clock the hoar fog was succeeded by frost and moon-light. The carrying of my friend kept me warm, it is true ; but I began to be tired, while he suffered every thing that frost, the pain of a dislocated foot, which I in vain endeavoured to reset, and the danger of death from a thousand hands, could inflict.

We were somewhat more tranquil, however, having reached the opposite shore of the Neiss, since nobody would pursue us on the road to Silesia. I followed the course of the river for half an hour, and having once passed the first villages that formed the line of desertion, with which Schell was perfectly acquainted, we in a lucky moment found a fisherman's boat moored to the shore. Into this we leaped, crossed the river again, and soon gained the mountains.

Here being come, we sat ourselves down awhile on the snow : hope revived in our hearts, and we held council concerning how it was best to act. I cut a stick to assist Schell in hopping forward, as well as he could, when I was tired of carrying him ; and thus we continued our rout, the difficulties of which were increased by the mountain snows.

Thus passed the night ; during which, up to the middle in snow, we made but little way. There were no paths to be traced in the mountains ; and they were in many places impassable. Day at length appeared : we thought ourselves near the frontiers, which are twenty English miles from Glatz, when we suddenly, to our great terror, heard the city clock strike.

Overwhelmed, as we were, by hunger, cold, fatigue, and pain, it was impossible we should hold out through the day. After some consideration, and another half hour's labour, we came to a village at the foot of the mountain, on the side of which, about three hundred paces from us, we perceived

two separate houses, which inspired us with a stratagem that was successful.

We lost our hats in leaping the ramparts ; but Schell had preserved his scarf and gorget, which would give him authority among the peasants.

I then cut my finger, rubbed the blood over my face, my shirt, and my coat, and bound up my head, to give myself the appearance of a man dangerously wounded.

In this condition, I carried Schell to the end of the wood not far from these houses : here he tied my hands behind my back, but so that I could easily disengage them in case of need, and hobbled after me, by aid of his staff, calling for help.

Two old peasants appeared, and Schell commanded them to run to the village, and tell a magistrate to come immediately with a cart. " I have seized this knave," added he, " who has killed my horse, and in the struggle I have put out my ankle ; however I have wounded and bound him : fly quickly, bring a cart, lest he should die before he is hanged."

As for me, I suffered myself to be led, as if half dead, into the house. A peasant was dispatched to the village. An old woman and a pretty girl seemed to take great pity on me, and gave me some bread and milk : but how great was our astonishment when the aged peasant called Schell by his name, and told him he well knew we were deserters, having the night before been at a neighbouring alehouse, where the officer in pursuit of us came, named and described us, and related the whole history of our flight. The peasant knew Schell, because his son served in his company, and had often spoken of him when he was quartered at Habelschwert.

Presence of mind and resolution were all that were now left. I instantly ran to the stable, while Schell detained the peasant in the chamber : he however was a worthy man,

and directed him the road toward Bohemia. We were still but about some seven miles from Glatz, having lost ourselves among the mountains, where we had wandered many miles. The daughter followed me : I found three horses in the stable, but no bridles. I conjured her, in the most passionate manner, to assist me ; she was affected, seemed half willing to follow me, and gave me two bridles. I led the horses to the door, called Schell, and helped him, with his lame leg, on horseback. The old peasant then began to weep, and beg I would not take his horses ; but he luckily wanted courage, and perhaps the will to impede us ; for with nothing more than a dung-fork, in our then feeble condition, he might have stopped us long enough to have called in assistance from the village.

And now behold us on horseback, without hats or saddles ; Schell with his uniform, scarf, and gorget, and I in my red regimental coat. Still were we in danger of seeing all our hopes vanish, for my horse would not stir from the stable : however, at last, good horseman like, I made him move. Schell led the way ; and we had scarcely gone a hundred paces before we perceived the peasants coming in crowds from the village.

As kind fortune would have it, the people were all at church, it being a festival : the peasants Schell had sent were obliged to call aid out of church. It was but nine in the morning ; and had the peasants been at home, we had been lost past redemption.

We were obliged to take the road to Wunshelburg and pass through the town, where Schell had been quartered a month before, and in which he was known by every body. Our dress, without hats or saddles, sufficiently proclaimed we were deserters : our horses, however, continued to go tolerably well ; and we had good luck to get through the town, although there was a garrison of one hundred and eighty infantry, and twelve horse, purposely to arrest deserters. Schell knew the road to Brummen, where we arrived

at eleven o'clock, after having met, as I before mentioned, captain Zerbst.

He who has been in the same situation only can imagine, though he never can describe, all the joy we felt. An innocent man, languishing in a dungeon, who, by his own endeavours, has broken his chains, and regained his liberty, in despite of all the arbitrary power of princes, who vainly would oppose him, conceives, in moments like these, such an abhorrence of despotism, that I could not well comprehend how I ever could resolve to live under governments where wealth, content, honour, liberty, and life, all depend upon a master's will, and who, were his intentions the most pure, could not be able, singly, to do justice to a whole nation.

Never did I, during life, feel pleasure more exquisite than at this moment. My friend for me had risked a shameful death, and now, after having carried him at least twelve hours on my shoulders, I had saved both him and myself. We certainly should not have suffered any man to bring us alive back again to Glatz. Yet this was but the first act of the tragedy of which I was doomed the hero, and the mournful incidents of which all arose out of, and depended on, each other.

Could I have read the book of fate, and have seen the forty years fearful afflictions that were to follow, I certainly should not have rejoiced at this my escape from Glatz. One year's patience might have appeased the irritated monarch; and, taking a retrospect of all that has passed, I now find it would have been a fortunate circumstance had the good and faithful Schell and I never met, since he also fell into a train of misfortunes, which I shall hereafter relate, and from which he could never extricate himself but by death. The sufferings which I have since undergone will be read with astonishment.

It is my consolation that both the laws of honour and nature justify the action. I may serve as an example of the fortitude with which danger ought to be encountered,

and show monarchs that in Germany, as well as in Rome, there are men who refuse to crouch beneath the yoke of despotism, and that philosophy and resolution are stronger than even those lords of slaves, with all their threats, whips, tortures, and instruments of death.

In Prussia, where my sufferings might have made me supposed the worst of traitors, is my innocence universally acknowledged ; and instead of contempt, there have I gained the love of the whole nation, which is the best compensation for all the ills I have suffered, and for having persevered in the virtuous principles taught me in my youth, persecuted, as I have been, by envy and malicious power. I have not time further to moralise ; the numerous incidents of my life would otherwise swell these volumes to too great an extent.

Thus in freedom at Braunau, on the Bohemian frontiers, I sent the two horses, with the corporal's sword, back to general Fouquet, at Glatz. The letter accompanying them was so pleasing to him, that all the centinels before my prison door, as well as the guard under arms, and all those we passed, were obliged to run the gauntlet, although, the very day before, he had himself declared my escape was now rendered impossible. He, however, was deceived ; and thus do the mean revenge themselves on the miserable, and the tryant on the innocent.

And now, for the first time, did I quit my country, and fly like Joseph, from the pit into which his false brethren had cast him : and in this the present moment of joy for my escape, the loss even of friends and country appeared to me the excess of good fortune.

The estates which had been purchased by the blood of my forefathers were confiscated ; and thus was a youth, of one of the noblest families in the land, whose heart was all zeal for the service of his king and country, and who was among those most capable to render them service, banished by this unjust and misled king, and treated like the worst of miscreants, malefactors, and traitors.

I wrote to the king, and sent him a true state of my case; sent indubitable proofs of my innocence, and supplicated justice, but received no answer.

In this the monarch may be justified, at least in my apprehension. A wicked man had maliciously and falsely accused me; colonel Jaschinsky had made him suspect me for a traitor, and it was impossible he should read my heart. The first act of injustice had been hastily committed; I had been condemned unheard, unjudged, and the injustice that had been done me was known too late; *Frederic the Great* found he was not infallible. Pardon I would not ask, for I had committed no offence; and the king would not probably own, by a reverse of conduct, he had been guilty of injustice. My resolution increased his obstinacy; but, in the discussion of the cause, our power was very unequal.

The monarch once really loved me; he meant my punishment should only be temporary, and as a trial of my fidelity. That I had been condemned to no more than a year's imprisonment had never been told me, and was a fact I did not learn till long after.

Major Doo, who as I have said was the creature of Fouquet, a mean and covetous man, knowing I had money, had always acted the part of a protector, as he pretended to me, and continually told me I was condemned for life. He perpetually turned the conversation on the great credit of his general with the king, and his own great credit with the general. For the present of a horse, on which I rode to Glatz, he gave me the freedom of walking about the fortress; and for another, worth a hundred ducats, I rescued ensign Reitz from death, who had been betrayed when endeavouring to effect our escape. I have been assured, that on that very day on which I snatched his sword from his side, desperately passed through the garrison, and leaped the walls of the rampart, he was expressly come to tell me, after some prefatory threats, that, by his general's intercession, my punish-

ment was only to be a year's imprisonment, and that, consequently, I should be released in a few days.

How vile were means like these to wrest money from the unfortunate ! The king, after this my mad flight, certainly was never informed of the major's base cunning ; he could only be told, that rather than wait a few days, I had chosen, in this desperate manner, to make my escape, and go over to the enemy.

Thus deceived and strengthened in his suspicion, must he not imagine my desire to forsake my country, and desert to the enemy, was unbounded ? How could he do otherwise than imprison a subject, who thus endeavoured to injure him, and aid his foes ? Thus, by the calumnies of wicked men, did my cruel destiny daily become more severe, and at length render the deceived monarch irreconcilable and cruel.

Yet how could it be supposed that I would not willingly have remained three weeks longer in prison, to have been honourably restored to liberty, to have prevented the confiscation of my estate, and to have once more returned to my loved mistress at Berlin ?

And now was I, in Bohemia, a fugitive stranger, without money, protector, or friend, and only twenty years of age.

In the campaign of 1744, I had been quartered at Braunnau, with a weaver, whom I advised and assisted to bury his effects, and preserve them from being plundered. The worthy man received us with joy and gratitude. I had lived in this same house, but two years before, as absolute master of him and his fate. I had then nine horses and five servants, with the highest and most favourable hopes of futurity : but now I came a fugitive, seeking protection, and having lost all a youth like me had to lose.

I had but a single louis d'or in my purse, and Schell forty kreutzers, or some three shillings : with this small sum, in a strange country, we had to cure his sprain, and provide for all our wants.

I was determined not to go to my cousin Trenck, at

Vienna, fearful this should seem a justification of all my imputed treasons ; I rather wished to embark for the East Indies, than to have recourse to this expedient. The greater my delicacy was, the greater became my distress. I wrote to my mistress at Berlin, but received no answer ; possibly because I could not indicate any certain mode of conveyance. My mother believed me guilty, and abandoned me ; my brothers were still minors ; and my friend, at Schweidnitz, could not aid me, being gone to Königsberg.

After three weeks abode at Braunau, my friend recovered of his lameness. We had been obliged to sell my watch, with his scarf and gorget, to supply our necessities ; and had only four florins remaining.

From the public papers I learnt, my cousin, the Austrian Trenck, was at this time closely confined, and under criminal prosecution. It will easily be imagined what effects this news had upon me.

Never till now had I felt any inconvenience from poverty ; my wants had all been amply supplied, and I had ever lived among, and been highly loved and esteemed by, the first people of the land. I was now destitute, without aid, and undetermined how to seek employment or obtain fame.

At length I determined to travel, on foot, to Prussia, to my mother, and obtain money from her, and afterwards enter into the Russian service. Schell, whose destiny was linked to mine, would not forsake me. We assumed false names ; I called myself Knert, and Schell, Lesch ; then obtaining passports, like common deserters, we left Braunau on the 21st of January in the evening, unseen of any person, and proceeded towards Bilitz in Poland. A friend I had at Neurode gave me a pair of pocket pistols, a musket, and three ducats ; the money was spent at Braunau. Here let me take occasion to remark, I had lent this friend, in urgent necessity, a hundred ducats, which he still owed me ; and, when I sent to request payment, he returned me three, as if I had asked charity.

Though a circumstantial description of our travels would alone fill a volume, I shall only relate the most singular accidents which happened to us ; I shall not also insert the journal of our route, which my friend Schell had preserved, and gave me in 1776, when he came to see me at Aix-la-Chapelle, after an absence of thirty years.

This may be called the first scene in which I appeared as an adventurer ; and perhaps my good fortune may even have overbalanced the bad, since I have escaped death full thirty times, when the chances were at least a hundred to one against me : certain it is, I undertook many things in which I seemed to have owed my preservation to the very rashness of the action, and in which others equally brave would have found death.

JOURNAL

Of travels on foot, from Braunau, in Bohemia, through Bilitz in Poland, to Meseritz ; and from Meseritz by Thorn, to Elbing ; in the whole 169 miles, performed without begging or stealing.*

Jan. 18, 1747. From Braunau, by Politz, to Nachod, three miles, we having three florins forty-five kreutzers in our purse.

Jan. 19. To Neustadt. Here Schell bartered his uniform for an old coat, and a Jew gave him two florins fifteen kreutzers in exchange : from hence we went to Reichenau ; in all three miles.

Jan. 20. We went to Leutomischel, five miles. Here I bought a loaf hot out of the oven, which, eating greedily, had nearly caused my death. This obliged us to rest a day ; and the extravagant charge of the landlord almost emptied our purse.

* The German mile contains from four to seven English miles ; and this variation appears to depend on the ignorance of the people, and on the roads being in some places but little frequented. It seems probable the Baron and his friend might travel about 800 English miles.

Jan. 22. From Tribau to Zwittaw in Moravia, four miles.

Jan. 23. To Sternberg, six miles. This day's journey excessively fatigued poor Schell; his sprained ancle being still extremely weak.

Jan. 24. To Leipnitz, four miles; in a deep snow, and with empty stomachs. Here I sold my stock-buckle for four florins.

Jan. 25. To Freyberg, by Weiskirch, to Drachotusch, five miles. Early in the morning we found a violin and case on the road; the inn keeper in Weiskirch gave us two florins for it, on condition that he should return it to the owner, on proving his right; it being worth at least twenty.

Jan. 26. To Freideck, in Upper Silesia, two miles.

Jan. 27. To a village, four miles and a half.

Jan. 28. Through Scotscha to Bilitz, three miles. This was the last Austrian town on the frontiers of Poland; and captain Capi, of the regiment of Marischall, who commanded the garrison, demanded our passports. We had false names, and called ourselves common Prussian deserters; but a drummer who had deserted from Glatz knew us, and betrayed us to the captain, who immediately arrested us very rudely, and sent us on foot to Teschin, refusing us a hearing, four miles distant.

Here we found lieutenant-colonel baron Schwarzer, a perfectly worthy man, who was highly interested in our behalf, and who blamed the irregular arbitrary conduct of captain Capi. I frankly related my adventures, and he used every possible argument to persuade me, instead of continuing my journey through Poland, to go to Vienna; but in vain: my good genius this time preserved me: would to God it had ever! How many miseries had I then avoided, and how easily might I have escaped the snares spread for me by the powerful, who have seized on my property, and, in order to secure it, have hitherto rendered me useless to the state, by depriving me of all post or employment.

I returned therefore a second time to Bilitz, travelling

these four miles once more. Schwarzer lent us his own horse, and four ducats, which I have since repaid, but which I shall never forget, as they were of signal service to me, and procured me a pair of new boots.

Irritated against captain Capi, we passed through Bilitz without stopping, went immediately to Biala, the first town in Poland, and from thence I sent Capi a challenge to fight me with sword or pistol, but received no answer; and his non-appearance has ever confirmed him in my opinion a rascal.

And here suffer me to take a retrospective view of what was my then situation. By the orders of Capi I was sent prisoner as a contemptible common deserter, and was unable to call him to account. In Poland, indeed, I had that power, but was despised as a vagabond, because of my poverty. What, alas! are the advantages which the love of honour, science, courage, or desire of fame can bestow, wanting the means that should introduce us to, and bid us walk erect in presence of our equals? Youth, depressed by poverty, is robbed of the society of those who best can afford example and instruction. I had lived familiar with the great; men of genius had formed and enlightened me; I had been enumerated among the favourites of a court; and now was I a stranger, unknown, unesteemed, nay contemned, obliged to endure the extremes of cold, hunger, and thirst; to wander many a weary mile, suffering both in body and mind, while every step led me farther from her whom I most loved; yet had I no fixed plan, no certain knowledge in what these my labours and sufferings should end.

I was too proud to discover myself; but indeed to whom could I discover myself in a strange land? My name might have availed me in Austria; but in Austria, where this name was known, I would not remain; rather than seek my fortune there, I was determined to shun whatever might tend to render me suspicious in the eyes of my country.

How liable was a temper, so ardent as mine, in the midst of difficulties, fatigues, and disappointments, hard to endure, to betray me into all those errors of which rash youth, unaccustomed to hardship, impatient of contrariety, are so often guilty ! But I had taken my resolution ; and my faithful Schell, to whom hunger, or ease, contempt, or fame, for my sake, were become indifferent, did whatever I desired.

Once more to my journal.

Feb. 1. We proceeded four miles from Biala to Oswintzin, I having determined to ask aid from my sister, who had married Waldow, and lived, much at her ease, on a fine estate at Hanmer in Brandenburg, between Lansberg on the Warta and Meseritz, a frontier town of Poland. For this reason we continued our route all along the Silesian confines to Meseritz.

Feb. 2. To Bobrek and Elkus, five miles. We suffered much this day because of the snow, and that the lightness of our dress was ill suited to such severe weather. Schell, negligently, lost our purse, in which were nine florins. I had still, however, nineteen grosch in my pocket (about half-a crown).

Feb. 3. To Crumelw, three miles ; and

Feb. 4. To Wladowiegud Joreck, three miles more ; and from thence, on

Feb. 5. To Czenstochowa, where there is a magnificent convent, concerning which, had I room, I might write many remarkable things, much to the disgrace of its inhabitants.

We slept at an inn kept by a very worthy man, whose name was Lazar. He had been a lieutenant in the Austrian service, where he had suffered much, and was now become a poor innkeeper in Poland. We had not a penny in our purse, and requested a bit of bread. The generous man had compassion on us, and desired us to sit down, and eat with himself. I then told him who we were, and trusted him with the motives of our journey. Scarcely had we supped

before a carriage arrived, with three people. They had their own horses, a servant, and a coachman.

This is a remarkable incident, and I must relate it circumstantially, though as briefly as possible.

We had before met this carriage at Elkus, and one of these people had asked Schell where we were going : he had replied, to Czenstochowa : we therefore had not the least suspicion of them, notwithstanding the danger we ran.

They lay at the inn, saluted us, but with indifference, not seeming to notice us, and spoke little. We had not been long in bed before our host came to awaken us, and told us, with surprise, these pretended merchants were sent to arrest us from Prussia ; that they had offered, first fifty, afterwards a hundred ducats, if he would permit them to take us in his house, and carry us into Silesia : that he had firmly rejected the proposal, though they had increased their promises ; and that at last they had given him six ducats to engage his silence.

We clearly saw these were an officer and under-officers sent by General Fouquet, to recover us. We conjectured by what means they had discovered our route, and imagined the information they had received could only come from one lieutenant Mollinie, of the garrison of Habelschwert, who had come to visit Schell, as a friend, during our stay at Braunau. He had remained with us two days, and had asked many questions concerning the road we should take, and he was the only one who knew it. He was probably the spy of Fouquet, and the cause of what happened afterwards, which, however, ended in the defeat of our enemies.

The moment I heard of this infamous treachery, I was for entering with my pistols primed, into the enemy's chamber, but was prevented by Schell and Lazar : the latter entreated me, in the strongest manner, to remain at his house till I should receive a supply from my mother, that I might be enabled to continue my journey with more ease and less danger : but his entreaties were ineffectual. I was de-

terminated to see her, uncertain as I was what effect my letter had produced. Lazar assured me we should, most infallibly, be attacked on the road. "So much the better," retorted I; "that will give me an opportunity of dispatching them, sending them to the other world, and shooting them as I would highwaymen." They departed at break of day, and took the road to Warsaw.

We would have been gone likewise; but Lazar in some sort forcibly detained us, and gave us the six ducats he had received from the Prussians, with which we bought each a shirt, another pair of pocket pistols, and other urgent necessities; then took an affectionate leave of our host, who directed us on our way, and we testified our gratitude for the great services done us.

Feb. 6. From Czenstochowa to Dankow, two miles. Here we expected an attack. Lazar had told us our enemies had only one musket; I also had a musket, and an excellent sabre, and each of us was provided with a pair of pistols. They knew not we were so well armed, which perhaps was the cause of their panic, when they came to engage.

Feb. 7. We took the road to Parsemechi: we had not been an hour on the road before we saw a carriage: as we drew near, we knew it to be that of our enemies, who pretended it was set in the snow. They were round it, and, when they saw us approach, began to call for help. This, we guessed, was an artifice to entrap us. Schell was not strong; they would all have fallen upon me, and we should easily have been carried off; for they wanted to take us alive.

We left the causeway about thirty paces, answering, "We had not time to give them help;" at which they all ran to their carriage, drew out their pistols, and returning full speed after us, called, Stop, rascals!" We began to run; but I, suddenly turning round, presented my piece, and shot the nearest dead on the spot. Schell fired his pistols; our opposers did the same, and Schell received a ball in the

neck at this discharge. It was now my turn : I took out my pistols ; one of the assailants fled, and I, enraged, pursued him three hundred paces, overtook him, and, as he was defending himself with his sword, perceiving he bled and made a feeble resistance, pressed upon him, and gave him a stroke that brought him down. I instantly returned to Schell, whom I found in the power of two others that were dragging him towards the carriage ; but when they saw me at their heels, they fled over the fields. The coachman, perceiving which way the battle went, leaped on his box, and drove off full speed.

Schell, though delivered, was wounded with a ball in the neck, and by a cut in the right hand, which had made him drop his sword ; though he affirmed he had run one of his adversaries through.

I took a silver watch from the man I had killed, and was going to make free with his purse, when Schell called and showed me a coach and six coming down a hill. To stay would have exposed us to have been imprisoned as highwaymen : for the two fugitives, who had escaped us, would certainly have borne witness against us. Safety only could be found in flight. I, however, seized the musket and hat of him I had first killed, and we then gained the copse, and after that the forest. The road was round about, and it was night before we reached Parsemechi.

Schell was besmeared with blood ; I had bound up his wound the best I could ; but in Polish villages no surgeons are to be found ; and he performed his journey with great difficulty. We met with two Saxon under-officers here, who were recruiting for the regiment of guards at Dresden. My six feet height and person pleased them, and they immediately made themselves acquainted with me. I found them intelligent, and entrusted them with our secret, told them who we were, related the battle we had that day had with our pursuers ; and I had not reason to repent of my confidence in them. Schell had his wounds drest, and we re-

mained seven days with these good Saxons, who faithfully kept us company.

I learned, meantime, that of the four men by whom we had been assaulted, one only, and the coachman, returned alive to Glatz. The name of the officer, who undertook this vile business, was Gersdorf; he had a hundred and fifty ducats in his pocket when found dead. How great would our good fortune have been, had not that cursed coach and six, by its appearance, made us take to flight; since the booty would have been most just! Fortune, this time, did not favour the innocent; and though treacherously attacked, I was obliged to escape like a guilty wretch. We sold the watch to a Jew for four ducats, the hat for three florins and a half, and the musket for a ducat, Schell being unable to carry it farther. We left most of this money behind us at Parsemechi. A Jew surgeon sold us some dear plasters, which we took with us, and departed.

Feb. 15. From Parsemechi, through Vielum, to Biala, four miles.

Feb. 16. Through Jerischow to Misoreen, four miles and a half.

Feb. 17. To Osterkow and Schwarzwald, three miles.

Feb. 18. To Sdune, four miles.

Feb. 19. To Goblin, two miles.

Here we arrived wholly destitute of money. I sold my coat to a Jew, who gave me four florins and a coarse waggoner's frock in exchange, which I did not think I should long need, as we now drew nearer to where my sister lived, and where I hoped I should be better equipped. Schell, however, grew weaker and weaker; his wounds healed slowly, and were expensive; the cold also was injurious to him; and, as he was not by nature cleanly in his person, his body soon became the harbour of every species of vermin to be picked up in Poland. We often arrived wet and weary to our smoky, reeking stove-room; often we were obliged to lie on straw, or the bare boards; and the various

hardships we suffered are almost incredible. Wandering as we did in the midst of winter, through Poland, where humanity, hospitality, and gentle pity are scarcely so much as known by name ; where merciless Jews deny the poor traveller a bed, and where we, disconsolately, strayed without bread, and almost naked ; these were sufferings, the full extent of which he only can conceive by whom they have been felt. My musket now and then procured us an occasional meal of tame geese, and cocks and hens, when these were to be had ; otherwise we never took or touched any thing that was not our own. We met with Saxon and Prussian recruiters at various places ; all of whom, on account of my youth and stature, were eager to inveigle me. I was highly diverted to hear them enumerate all the possibilities of future greatness, and how liable I was hereafter to become a corporal : nor was I less merry with their mead, ale, and brandy, given with an intent to make me drunk. Thus had we many artifices to guard against : but thus had we, likewise, very luckily for us, many a good meal gratis.

Feb. 21. We went from Goblin to Pugnitz, three miles and a half.

Feb. 22. Through Storchnest to Schmiegel, four miles.

Here happened a singular adventure. The peasants at this place were dancing to a vile scraper on the violin : I took the instrument myself, and played while they continued their hilarity. They were much pleased with my playing ; but when I was tired, and desired to have done, they obliged me, first by importunities, and afterwards by threats, to play on all night. I was so fatigued I thought I should have fainted : at length they quarrelled among themselves. Schell was sleeping on a bench, and some of them fell on his wounded hand : he rose furious ; I seised my arms, began to lay about me, and while all was in confusion we escaped without farther ill treatment.

What ample subject of meditation on the various turns of fate did this night afford ! But two years before I danced

at Berlin with the daughters and sisters of kings ; and here was I, in a Polish hut, a ragged, almost naked musician, playing for the sport of ignorant rustics, whom I was at last obliged to fight.

I was myself the cause of the trifling misfortune that befel me on this occasion. Had not my vanity led me to show these poor peasants I was a musician, I might have slept in peace and safety. The same vain desire of proving I knew more than other men, made me, through life, the continued victim of envy and slander. Had nature too bestowed on me a weaker, or a deformed body, I had been less observed, less courted, less sought, and my adventures and mishaps had been fewer. Thus the merits of the man often become his miseries ; and thus the bear, having learned to dance, must live and die in chains.

This ardour, this vanity, or, if you please, this emulation, has however taught me to vanquish a thousand difficulties, under which others of cooler passions, and more temperate desires, would have sunk. May my example remain a warning, and thus may my sufferings become somewhat profitable to the world, cruel as they have been to myself ! Cruel they were, and cruel they must continue ; for the wounds I have received are not, will not, cannot, be healed.

Feb. 23. From Schmiegel to Rakonitz, and from thence to Karger Holland, four miles and a half. Here we sold, to prevent dying of hunger, a shirt, and Schell's waiscoat, for eighteen grosch, or nine schostack. I had shot a pullet the day before, which necessity obliged us to eat raw. I also killed a crow, which I devoured alone, Schell refusing to taste. Youth and hard travelling created a voracious appetite, and our eighteen grosch were soon expended.

Feb. 24. We came through Bēnzen to Lettel, four miles. Here we halted a day, to learn the road to Hammer in Brandenburg, where my sister lived. I happened, luckily, to meet with the wife of a Prussian soldier, who lived at Lettel, and belonged to Kolschen, where she was born a vassal of my

sister's husband. I told her who I was, and she became our guide.

Feb. 26. To Kurschen and Falkenwalde.

Feb. 27. Through Neuendorff and Qoft, and afterwards through a pathless wood, five miles and a half to Hammer ; and here I knocked at my sister's door at nine o'clock in the evening.

A maid servant came to the door, whom I knew ; her name was Mary, and she had been born and brought up in my father's house. She was terrified at seeing a sturdy fellow in a beggar's dress ; which perceiving, I asked, " Molly, do not you know me ?" She answered, " No ;" and I then discovered myself to her. I asked whether my brother-in-law was at home. Mary replied, " Yes ; but he was sick in bed." " Tell my sister, then," said I, " that I am here." She showed me into a room, and my sister presently came.

She was alarmed at seeing me, not knowing that I had escaped from Glatz ; and ran to inform her husband, but did not return.

A quarter of an hour after, the good Mary came weeping, and told us her master commanded us to quit the premises instantly, or he should be obliged to have us arrested, and delivered up as prisoners.

My sister's husband forcibly detained her, and I saw her no more.

What my feelings must be, at such a moment, let the reader imagine. I was too proud, too enraged, to ask money ; I furiously left the house, uttering a thousand menaces against its inhabitants, while the kind hearted Mary, still weeping, slipped three ducats into my hand, which I accepted.

And now behold us, once more, in the wood, which was not above a hundred paces from the house, half dead with hunger and fatigue, not daring to enter any habitation while in the states of Brandenburg, and dragging our weary steps,

all night, through snow and rain, until our guide at length brought us back, at day-break, once more to the town of Lettel.

She herself wept in pity at our fate, and I could only give her two ducats for the danger she had run ; but I made her hope more in future ; and I afterwards sent for her to Vienna, in 1751, where I took great care of her. She was about fifty years of age, and died my servant in Hungary, some weeks before my unfortunate journey to Dantzic, where I fell into my enemies' hands, and remained ten years a prisoner at Magdeburg.

We had scarcely reached the wood, before, in the anguish of my heart, I exclaimed to Schell, " Does not such a sister, my friend, deserve I should fire the house over her head ?" The wisdom of moderation, and calm forbearance, was in Schell a virtue of the highest order : he was my continual Mentor ; my guide, whenever my choleric temperament was disposed to violence. I therefore honour his ashes ; he deserved a better fate.

" Friend," said he, on this occasion, " reflect that your sister may be innocent, may be withheld by her husband ; besides, should the king discover we had entered her doors, and she had not delivered us again into his power, she might become as miserable as we were. Be more noble minded, and think that, even should your sister be wrong, the time may come when her children may stand in need of your assistance, and you may have the indescribable pleasure of returning good for evil."

I never shall forget this excellent advice ; which in reality was a prophecy. My rich brother-in-law died, and during the Russian war, his lands and houses were laid desolate and in ruins ; and, nineteen years afterwards, when released from my imprisonment at Magdeburg, I had an opportunity of serving the children of my sister. Such are the turns of fate ; and thus do improbabilities become facts.

My sister justified her conduct ; Schell had conjectured

the truth ; for ten years after I was thus expelled her house, she showed, during my imprisonment, she was really a sister. She was shamefully betrayed by Weingarten, secretary to the Austrian ambassador at Berlin ; lost a part of her property ; and at length her life fell an innocent sacrifice to her brother.

This event, which is interwoven with my tragical history, will be related in the succeeding pages : my heart bleeds, my very soul shudders, when I recollect this dreadful scene.

I have not the means fully to recompense her children ; and Weingarten, the just object of vengeance, is long since in the grave ; for did he exist, the earth should not hide him from my sword.

I shall now continue my journal. Deceived in the aid I expected, I was obliged to change my plan, and go to my mother, who lived in Prussia, nine miles beyond Königsberg.

Feb. 28. We continued, tired, anxious, and distressed, at Lettel.

March 1. We went three miles to Pleese, and on

March 2. A mile and a half farther to Meseritz.

March 3. Through Wersebaum to Birnbaum, three miles.

March 4. Through Zircke, Wrunneck, Obestchow, to Stubnitz, seven miles, in one day, three of which we had the good fortune to ride.

March 5. Three miles to Rogosen ; where we arrived without so much as a heller to pay our lodging. The Jew inn-keeper drove us out of his house ; we were obliged to wander all night, and at break of day found we had strayed two miles out of the road.

We entered a peasant's cottage, where an old woman was drawing bread hot out of the oven. We had no money to offer ; and I felt, at this moment, the possibility even of committing murder for a morsel of bread, to satisfy the intolerable cravings of hunger. Shuddering with torment inexpressible at the thoughts, I hastened out of the door, and we walked on two miles more to Wongroffe.

Here I sold my musket for a ducat, which had procured us many a meal: such was the extremity of our distress. We then satiated our appetites, after having been forty hours without food or sleep, and having travelled ten miles in sleet and snow.

March 6. We rested, and came, on the 7th, through Genin, to a village in the forest, four miles.

Here we fell in with a gang of gypsies [or rather banditti], amounting to four hundred men, who dragged me to their camp. They were mostly French and Prussian deserters; and, thinking me their equal, would force me to become one of their band. But venturing to tell my story to their leader, he presented me with a crown, gave us a small provision of bread and meat, and suffered us to depart in peace, after having been four and twenty hours in their company.

March 9. We proceeded to Lapuschin, three miles and a half; and the 10th to Thorn, four miles.

A new incident here happened, which showed I was destined, by fortune, to a variety of adventures, and continually to struggle with new difficulties.

There was a fair held at Thorn on the day of our arrival. Suspicions might well arise among the crowd, on seeing a strong tall young man, wretchedly clothed, with a large sabre by his side, and a pair of pistols in his girdle, accompanied by another as poorly appparelled as himself, with his hand and neck bound up, and armed likewise with pistols; so that altogether he more resembled a spectre than a man.

We went to an inn, but were refused entertainment: I then asked for the Jesuits' college, where I inquired for the father-rector. They supposed at first I was a thief, come to seek an asylum. After long waiting, and much entreaty, his Jesuitical highness at length made his appearance, and received me as the Grand Mogul would his slave. My case certainly was pitiable: I related all the events of my life, and the purport of my journey; conjured him to save Schell, who was unable to proceed farther, and whose

wounds grew daily worse ; and prayed him to entertain him at the convent till I should have been to my mother, have obtained money, and returned to Thorn, when I would certainly repay him whatever expence he might have been at, with thanks and gratitude.

Never shall I forget the haughty insolence of this priest. Scarcely would he listen to my humble request ; thwarted and interrupted me continually, to tell me “ Be brief ; I have more pressing affairs than thine.” In fine, I was turned away without obtaining the least assistance ; and here I was first taught Jesuitical pride ; God help the poor and honest man who shall need the assistance of Jesuits ! They, like all other monks, are seared to every sentiment of human pity, and commiserate the distressed by taunts and irony.

Four times in my life I have sought assistance and advice from convents, and am convinced it is the duty of every honest man to aid in erasing them from the face of the earth.

They succour rascals and murderers, that their power may be idolised by the ignorant, and ostentatiously exert itself to impede the course of law and justice ; but in vain do the poor and needy virtuous apply to them for help.

The reader will pardon my native hatred of hypocrisy and falsehood, especially when he hears I have to thank the Jesuits for the loss of all my great Hungarian estates. Father Kampmuller, the bosom friend of the count Grashalkowitz, was confessor to the court of Vienna, and there was no possible kind of persecution I did not suffer from priest-craft. Far from being useful members of society, they, taking advantage of the prejudices of superstition, exist for themselves alone, and sacrifice every duty to the support of their own hierarchy, and found a power on error and ignorance, which is destructive of all moral virtue.

Let us proceed.—Mournful, and angry, I left the college, and went to my lodging-house, where I found a Prussian recruiting-officer waiting for me, who used all his arts to engage me to enlist : offering me five hundred dollars, and

to make me a corporal, if I could write. I pretended I was a Livonian who had deserted from the Austrians, to return home and claim an inheritance left me by my father. After much persuasion, he at length told me in confidence, "It was very well known in the town that I was a robber; that I should soon be taken before a magistrate; but that, if I would enlist, he would ensure my safety."

This language was new to me; my passion rose instantaneously: I remembered my name was Trenck, I struck him, and drew my sword; but instead of defending himself, he sprang out of the chamber, charging the host not to let me quit the house. I knew the town of Thorn had agreed with the king of Prussia, secretly, to deliver up deserters, and began to fear the consequences. Looking through the window, I presently saw two under Prussian officers enter the house. Schell and I instantly flew to our arms, and met the Prussians at the chamber door. "Make way;" cried I presenting my pistols. The Prussian soldiers drew their swords, but retired with fear. Going out of the house, I saw a Prussian lieutenant in the street, with the town-guard. These I over-awed likewise, by the same means, and no one durst oppose me, though every one cried "Stop thief." I came safely, however, to the Jesuits' convent; but poor Schell was taken and dragged to prison like a malefactor.

Half mad at not being able to rescue him, I imagined he must soon be delivered up to the Prussians. My reception was much better at the convent than it had been before, for they no longer doubted but I was really a thief, who sought an asylum. I addressed myself to one of the fathers, who appeared to be a good kind of a man, related briefly what had happened, and entreated he would endeavour to discover why they sought to molest us.

He went out, and returning in an hour after, told me: "Nobody knows you: a considerable theft was, yesterday, committed in the fair; all suspicious persons are seized; you entered the town accoutred like banditti. The man where

you put up is employed as a Prussian enlister, and has announced you as suspicious people. The Prussian lieutenant, thereupon, laid complaint against you, and it was thought necessary to secure your persons."

My joy, at hearing this, was great. Our Moravian passport, and the journal of our route, which I had in my pocket, were full proofs of our innocence. I requested they would send and enquire at the town where we lay the night before. I soon convinced the Jesuit I spoke truth ; he went, and presently returned with one of the syndics, to whom I gave a more full account of myself. The syndic examined Schell, and found his story and mine agreed ; besides which, our papers, that they had seized, declared who we were. I passed the night in the convent, without closing my eyes, revolving in my mind all the rigours of my fate. I was still more disturbed for Schell, who knew not where I was, but remained firmly persuaded we should be conducted to Berlin ; and, if so, determined to put a period to his life.

My doubts were all ended at ten in the morning, when my good Jesuit arrived, and was followed by my friend Schell. The judges, he said, had found us innocent, and declared us free to go where we pleased ; adding, however, that he advised us to be upon our guard, we being watched by the Prussian enlisters ; that the lieutenant had hoped, by having us committed as thieves, to oblige me to enter, and this would account for all that had happened.

I gave Schell a most affectionate welcome, who had been very ill used when led to prison, because he endeavoured to defend himself with his left hand, and follow me. The people had thrown mud at him, and called him a rascal that would soon be hanged. Schell was little able to travel further. The father rector sent us a ducat, but did not see us ; and the chief magistrate gave each of us a crown by way of indemnification for false imprisonment. Thus sent away, we returned to our lodging, took our bundles, and immediately prepared to leave Thorn.

As we went, I reflected that, on the road to Elbing, we must pass through several Prussian villages, and inquired for a shop where we might purchase a map. We were directed to an old woman who sat at a door across the way, and were told that she had a good assortment, for that her son was a scholar. I addressed myself to her, and my question pleased her, I having added we were unfortunate travellers, who wished to find, by the map, the road to Russia.

She showed us into a chamber, laid an atlas on the table, and placed herself opposite me, while I examined the map, and endeavoured to hide a bit of a ragged ruffle that had made its appearance. After stedfastly looking at me, she at length exclaimed, with a sad and mournful tone, "Good God ! who knows what is now become of my poor son ! I can see, sir, you, too, are of a good family. My son would go and seek his fortune ; and for these eight years have I had no tidings of him. He must now be in the Austrian cavalry." I asked in what regiment.—" The regiment of Hohenhem ; you are his very picture."—" Is he not my height ?"—" Yes nearly."—" Has he not light hair ?"—" Yes, like yours, sir."—" What is his name ?"—" His name is William."—" No, my dear mother," cried I, " William is not dead ; he was my best friend when I was with my regiment."—Here the poor woman could not contain herself with joy. She threw herself round my neck, called me her good angel who brought her happy tidings, asked me a thousand questions, which I easily contrived to make her answer herself ; and thus, forced by imperious necessity, bereft of all other means, did I act the deceiver.

The story I made was nearly as follows : I told her I was a soldier in the regiment of Hohenhem, that I had a furlow to go and see my father, and that I should return in a month, would then take her letters, and undertake that, if she wished it, her son should purchase his discharge, and once more come and live with his mother. I added, that I should be

for ever, and infinitely obliged to her, if she would suffer my comrade mean time to live at her house, he being wounded by the Prussian recruiters, and unable to pursue his journey; that I would send him money to come to me, or would myself come back and fetch him, thankfully paying every expence. She joyfully consented; told me her second husband, father-in-law to her dear William, had driven him from home, that he might give what substance they had to the younger son; and that the eldest had gone to Magdeburg. She determined Schell should live at the house of a friend, that her husband might know nothing of the matter; and, not satisfied with this kindness, she made me eat with her, gave me a new shirt, stockings, sufficient provision for three days, and six Lunenburg florins. I left Thorn, and my faithful Schell, the same night, with the consolation he was well taken care of; and having parted from him with regret, went, on this the 13th, two miles farther to Burglow.

I cannot describe what my sensations were, or the despondence of my mind, when I thus saw myself wandering alone, and leaving, forsaking as it were, the dearest of friends. These may certainly be numbered among the bitterest moments of my life. Often was I ready to return, and drag him along with me, though at last reason conquered sensibility. I drew near the end of my journey, and was impelled forward by hope.

March 14. I went to Schwetz, and,

March 15. To Neuburg and Mowe. In these two days I travelled thirteen miles. I lay at Mowe, in some straw, among a number of carters, and, when I awoke, perceived they had taken my pistols, and what little money I had left, even to my last penny. The gentlemen however were all gone. What could I do? The innkeeper perhaps was privy to the theft. My reckoning amounted to eighteen Polish grosch. The surly landlord pretended to believe I had no money when I entered his house, and I was obliged to give him the only spare shirt I had, with a silk handkerchief, which

the good woman of Thorn had made me a present of, and to depart without a single heller.

March 16. I set off for Marienburg : but it was impossible I should reach this place, and not fall into the hands of the Prussians, if I did not cross the Vistula ; and, unfortunately, I had no money to pay the ferry, which would cost two Polish schellings.

Full of anxiety, not knowing how to act, I saw two fishermen in a boat, went to them, drew my sabre, and obliged them to land me on the other side ; when there, I took the oars from these timid people, jumped out of the boat, pushed it off the shore, and left it to drive with the stream.

To what danger does not poverty expose man ! These two Polish schellings were not worth more than half a kreutzer, or some halfpenny ; yet was I driven by necessity to commit violence on two poor men, who, had they been as desperate in their defence as I was obliged to be in my attack, blood must have been spilt, and lives lost ; hence it is evident that the degrees of guilt ought to be strictly and minutely inquired into, and the degree of punishment proportioned : had I hewn them down with my sabre, I should surely have been a murderer, but I should likewise surely have been one of the most innocent of murderers. Thus we see the value of money is not to be estimated by any specific sum, small or great, but according to its necessity and use. How little did I imagine, when at Berlin, and money was treated by me with luxurious neglect, I may say, with contempt, I should be driven to the hard necessity, for a sum so apparently despicable, of committing a violence which might have had consequences so dreadful, and have led to the commission of an act so atrocious !

I found Saxon and Prussian recruiters at Marienburg, with whom, having no money, I ate, drank, listened to their proposals, gave them hopes for the morrow, and departed by day-break.

March 17. To Elbing, four miles.

Here I met with my former worthy tutor, Brodowsky, who was become a captain, and auditor in the Polish regiment of Golz. He met me just as I entered the town. I followed, triumphantly, to his quarters; and here at length ended the painful, long, and adventurous journey I had been obliged to perform.

This good and kind gentleman, after providing me with immediate necessities, wrote so affectingly to my mother, that she came to Elbing in a week, and gave me every aid of which I stood in need.

The pleasure I had in meeting once more this tender mother, whose qualities of heart and mind were equally excellent, was inexpressible. She found a certain mode of conveying a letter to my dear mistress at Berlin, who, a short time after, sent me a bill of exchange for four hundred ducats upon Dantzic. To this my mother added a thousand rix-dollars, and a diamond cross worth nearly half as much, remained a fortnight with me, and persisted, in spite of all remonstrance, in advising me to go to Vienna. My determination had been fixed for Petersburg; all my fears and apprehensions being awakened at the thought of Vienna, and which, indeed, afterwards became the source of all my cruel sufferings and sorrows. She would not yield in opinion, and promised her future assistance only in case of my obedience: it was my duty not to continue obstinate. Here she left me, and I have never seen her since. She died in 1751, and I have ever held her memory in veneration. It was a happiness for this affectionate mother, that she did not live to be a witness of my afflictions, in the year 1754.

An adventure, resembling that of Joseph in Egypt, happened to me in Elbing. The wife of the worthy Brodowsky, a woman of infinite personal attraction, grew partial to me; but I durst not act ungratefully by my benefactor. Never to see me more was too painful to her, and she even proposed to follow me, secretly, to Vienna. I felt the danger of my situation, and doubted whether Potiphar's wife offered

temptations so strong as madam Brodowsky. I own I had an affection for this lady ; but my passions were overawed. She preferred me to her husband, who was in years, and very ordinary in person. Had I yielded to the slightest degree of guilt, that of present enjoyment, a few days of pleasure must have been followed by years of bitter repentance.

Having once more assumed my proper name and character, and made presents of acknowledgment to the worthy tutor of my youth, I became eager to return to Thorn.

How great was my joy at again meeting my honest Schell ! The kind old woman had treated him like a mother. She was surprised and half terrified at seeing me enter in an officer's uniform, and accompanied by two servants. I gratefully and rapturously kissed her hand ; repaid, with thankfulness, every expence ; for Schell had been nurtured with truly maternal kindness ; told her who I was ; acknowledged the deceit I had put upon her concerning her son, but faithfully promised to give her a true, and not fictitious, account of him immediately on my arrival at Vienna*. Schell was ready in three days, and we left Thorn, came to Warsaw, and passed thence through Crakow, to Vienna.

I inquired for captain Capi, at Bilitz, who had before given me so kind a reception, and refused me satisfaction ; but he was gone, and I did not meet with him till some years after, when the cunning Italian made me the most humble apologies for his conduct. So goes the world.

My journey from Dantzic to Vienna would not furnish me with an interesting page, though my travels on foot thither

* When I came to Vienna, I took all possible pains to enquire for this William, and found, by the commissary list, that he had deserted in 1744, had been retaken, and actually hanged. For a bribe of a few ducats I procured a certificate of his having died a natural death, which I sent to the good woman with a letter of thanks and consolation. Perhaps the Poor William, who was heir to twenty thousand florins, unable to procure a furrow, had deserted, and was executed as a malefactor. To how many reflections on arbitrary power, standing armies, and military law, do incidents like these give birth !

would have afforded thrice as much as I have written, had I not been fearful of trifling with the reader's patience.

In poverty one misfortune follows another. The foot-passenger sees the world, becomes acquainted with it, converses with men of every class. The lord luxuriously lolls and slumbers in his carriage, while his servants pay inn-keepers and postillions, and passes rapidly over a kingdom in which he sees some dozen houses, called inns; and this he calls travelling. I met with more adventures in this my journey of 169 miles, than afterwards in almost as many thousand, when travelling at ease, in a carriage.

Here then ends my journal, in which, from the hardships therein related, and numerous others omitted, I seem a kind of second Robinson Crusoe, and to have been prepared, by a gradual increase and repetition of sufferings, to endure the load of affliction which I was afterwards destined to bear.

ARRIVED AT VIENNA in the month of April, 1747.

And now another act of the tragedy is going to begin.

After having defrayed the expences of travelling for me and my friend Schell, for whose remarkable history I will endeavour to find a few pages in my volume, I divided the three hundred ducats which remained with him; and, having staid a month at Vienna, he went to join the regiment of Pallavicini, in which he had obtained a lieutenant-colonel's commission, and which was then in Italy.

Here I found my cousin, baron Francis Trenck, the famous partisan and colonel of pandours, imprisoned at the arsenal, and involved in a most perplexing prosecution.

This Trenck was my father's brother's son. His father had been a colonel and governor of Leitschau, and had possessed considerable lordships in Sclavonia, those of Pleternitz, Prestowacz, and Pakratz. After the siege of Vienna, in 1683, he had left the Prussian service for that of Austria, in which he remained sixty years.

That I may not here interrupt my story, I shall in the

course of this work give some account of the life of my cousin baron Francis Trenck, so renowned in the war of 1741, and who fell, at last, the shameful sacrifice of envy and avarice, and received the reward of all his great and faithful services in the prison of the Spielberg.

The vindication of the family of the Trencks requires I should speak of him ; nor will I, in this, suffer restraint from the fear of any man, however powerful. Those indeed who sacrificed a man most ardent in his country's service, to their own private and selfish views, are now in their graves. I shall insert no more of his history here than what is interwoven with my own, and relate the rest hereafter.

A revision of his suit was at this time instituted. Scarcely was I at Vienna before his confidential agent, M. Leber, presented me to prince Charles and the emperor : both knew the services of Trenck, and the malice of his enemies ; therefore permission for me to visit him in his prison, and procure him such assistance as he might need, were readily granted. On my second audience the emperor spoke so much in my persecuted cousin's favour, that I became highly interested : he commanded me to have recourse to him on all occasions ; and, moreover, owned the president of the council of war was a man of a very wicked character, and a declared enemy of Trenck. This president was the count of Lowenwalde, who, with his associates, had been purposely selected as men proper to oppress the best of subjects. The suit soon took another face : the good empress queen, who had been deceived, was soon better informed ; and Trenck's innocence appeared, on the revision of the process, most evidently. The trial, which had cost them twenty-seven thousand florins, and the sentence which followed, were proved to have been partial and unjust ; and that sixteen of Trenck's officers, who most of them had been broken for different offences, had perjured themselves to insure his destruction.

It is a most remarkable circumstance, that public notice was given, in the Vienna Gazette, to the following purport : *All those who have any complaints to make against Trenck, let them appear, and they shall receive a ducat per day so long as the prosecution continues.*

It will readily be imagined how fast his accusers would increase, and what kind of people they were. The pay of these witnesses alone mounted to fifteen thousand florins. I now began to labour in concurrence with doctor Gerhauer, and the cause soon took another turn ; but such was the state of things, it would have been necessary to have broken all the members of the council of war, as well as counsellor Weber, a man of great power. Thus, unfortunately, politics began to interfere with the course of justice.

The empress-queen gave Trenck to understand she required he should ask her pardon ; and on that condition all proceedings should be stopped, and he immediately set at liberty. Prince Charles, who knew the court of Vienna, advised me also to persuade my cousin to comply ; but nothing could shake his resolution. Feeling his right and innocence, he demanded strict justice ; and this made ruin more swift.

I soon learned Trenck must fall a sacrifice ;—he was rich—his enemies already had divided among them more than eighty thousand florins of his property, which was all sequestered, and in their hands. They had treated him too cruelly, and knew him too well, not to dread his vengeance the moment he should recover his freedom.

I was moved to the soul at his sufferings ; and as he vented public threats, at the prospect of approaching victory over his enemies, they gained over the court-confessor ; and, dreading him as they did, put every wily art in practice to insure his destruction. I therefore, in the fulness of my heart, made him the brotherly proposition of escaping, and, having obtained his liberty, to prove his innocence to the empress-queen. I told him my plan, which might easily

have been put in execution, and which he seemed perfectly decided to follow.

Some days after, I was ordered to wait on field-marshal count Konigseck, governor of Vienna. This respectable old gentleman, whose memory I shall ever revere, behaved to me like a father and the friend of humanity, advised me to abandon my cousin, who, he gave me clearly to understand, had betrayed me, by having revealed my proposed plan of escape, willing to sacrifice me to his ambition, in order to justify the purity of his intentions to the court, and show that, instead of wishing to escape, he only desired justice.

Confounded at the cowardly action of one for whom I would willingly have sacrificed my life, and whom I only sought to deliver, I resolved to leave him to his fate, and thought myself exceedingly happy that the worthy field-marshal would, after a fatherly admonition, smother all farther inquiry into this affair.

I related this black trait of ingratitude to prince Charles of Lorraine, who prevailed on me again to see my cousin, without letting him know I knew what had passed, and still to render him every service in my power.

Before I proceed, I will here give the reader a portrait of this Trenck.

He was a man of superior talents and unbounded ambition ; devoted, even, fanatically, to his sovereign ; his boldness approached temerity ; he was artful of mind, wicked of heart, vindictive and unfeeling. His cupidity equalled the utmost excess of avarice, even in his thirty-third year, in which he died. He was too proud to receive favours or obligations from any man, and was capable of ridding himself of his best friend, if he thought he had any claims on his gratitude, or could get possession of his fortune.

He knew I had rendered him very important services, supposed his cause already won, having bribed the judges, who were to revise the sentence, with thirty thousand florins ; which money I received from his friend baron Lopresti, and

conveyed to these honest counsellors. I knew all his secrets ; and nothing more was necessary to prompt his suspicious and bad heart to seek my destruction.

Scarcely had a fortnight elapsed, after his having first betrayed me, before the following remarkable event happened.

I left him one evening to return home, taking under my coat a bag with papers and documents relating to the prosecution, which I had been examining for him, and transcribing. There were at this time about five and twenty officers in Vienna, who had laid complaints against him, and who considered me as their greatest enemy, because I had laboured earnestly in his defence. I was therefore obliged, on all occasions, to be upon my guard. A report had been propagated through Vienna, that I was secretly sent, by the king of Prussia, to free my cousin from imprisonment ; he, however constantly denied, to the hour of his death, his ever having written to me at Berlin : hence also it will follow, the letter I received had been forged by Jaschinsky.

Leaving the arsenal, I crossed the court, and perceived I was closely followed by two men in grey roquelaures ; who, pressing upon my heels, held loud and insolent conversation concerning the run-away Prussian Trenck. I found they sought a quarrel, which was a thing of no great difficulty at that moment ; for a man is never more disposed to duelling than when he has nothing to lose, and is discontented with his condition. I supposed they were two of the accusing officers broken by Trenck, and endeavoured to avoid them, and gain the Jew's-place.

Scarcely had I turned down the street that leads thither, before they quickened their pace. I turned round, and in a moment received a thrust with a sword in the left side, where I had put my bag of papers ; which accident alone saved my life : the sword pierced through the papers, and slightly grazed the skin. I instantly drew, and the heroes ran. I pursued : one of them tripped, and fell. I seized him : the guard came up : he declared he was an officer of

the regiment of Kollowrat, showed his uniform, was released, and I was taken to prison. The town-major came the next day, and told me I had intentionally sought a quarrel with two officers, lieutenants F—g and K—n. These kind gentlemen did not reveal their humane intentions of sending me to the other world.

I was alone, could produce no witness : they were two. I must necessarily be in the wrong, and I remained six days in prison. No sooner was I released, than these my good friends sent to demand satisfaction for the said pretended insult. The proposal was accepted, and I promised to be at the Scotch-gate, the place appointed by them, within an hour. Having heard their names, I presently knew them to be two famous swaggerers, who were daily exercising themselves in fencing at the arsenal, and where they often visited 'Trenck. I went to my cousin to ask his assistance, related what had happened, and, as the consequences of this duel might be very serious, desired him to give me a hundred ducats, that I might be able to fly if either of them should fall.

Hitherto I had expended my own money on his account, and had asked no reimbursement ; but what was my astonishment when this wicked man said to me, with a sneer, “ Since, good cousin, you have got into a quarrel without consulting me, you will also get out of it without my aid ! ” As I left him, he called me back to tell me, “ I will take care and pay your undertaker ; ” for he certainly believed I should never return alive.

I ran now, half despairing, to baron Lopresti, who gave me fifty ducats and a pair of pistols ; provided with which I cheerfully repaired to the field of battle.

Here I found half a dozen officers of the garrison. As I had few acquaintances in Vienna, I had no second, except an old Spanish invalid captain, named Pereyra, who met me going in all haste, and, having learned whither, would not leave me.

Lieutenant K—n was the first with whom I fought, and

who received satisfaction by a deep wound in the right arm. Hereupon I desired the spectators to prevent farther mischief; for my own part I had nothing more to demand. Lieutenant F—g next entered the lists, with threats, which were soon quieted by a lunge in the belly. Hereupon lieutenant M—f, second to the first wounded man, told me very angrily, “Had I been your man, you would have found a very different reception.” My old Spaniard of eighty, proudly and immediately advanced, with his long whiskers and tottering frame, and cried—“Hold!—Trenck has proved himself a brave fellow; and if any man thinks proper to assault him further, he must first take a breathing with me.” Every body laughed at this bravado, from a man who scarcely could stand, or hold a sword. I replied, “Friend, I am safe, unhurt, and want not aid: should I be disabled, you then, if you think proper, may take my place; but, as long as I can hold a sword, I shall take pleasure, in satisfying all these gentlemen, one after another.” I would have rested myself a moment; but the haughty M—f, enraged at the defeat of his friend, would not give me time, but furiously attacked me; and, having wounded him twice, once in the hand, and again in the groin, he wanted to close, and sink me to the grave with himself; but I disarmed and threw him.

None of the others had any desire to renew the contest. My three enemies were sent bleeding to town; and, as M—f appeared to be mortally wounded, and the Jesuits and Capuchins of Vienna refused me an asylum, I fled to the convent at Keltenberg.

I wrote, from the convent, to colonel baron Lopresti, who came to me. I told him all that had passed, and by his good offices had liberty in a week, to appear once more at Vienna.

The blood of lieutenant F—g was in a corrupt state, and his wound, though not in itself dangerous, made his life doubtful. He sent to entreat I would visit him; and, when

I went, having first requested I would pardon him, gave me to understand I ought to beware of my cousin. I afterwards learned the traitorous Trenck had promised lieutenant F—g a company, and a thousand ducats, if he could find means to quarrel with me, and rid the world of me. He was deeply in debt, and sought the assistance of lieutenant K—n ; and, had not the papers luckily preserved me I had undoubtedly been dispatched by his first lunge. To clear themselves of the infamy of such an act, these two worthy gentlemen had pretended I had assaulted them in the streets.

I could no more resolve to see my ungrateful and dangerous kinsman, who wished to have me murdered, because I knew all his secrets, and thought he should be able to gain his cause, without obligation to me, or my assistance. Notwithstanding all his great qualities, his marking characteristic certainly was that of sacrificing every thing to his private views, and especially to his covetousness, which was so great that, even at his time of life, though his fortune amounted to a million and a half, he did not spend, per day, more than thirty kreutzers.

No sooner was it known that I had forsaken Trenck, than general count Lowenwalde, his most ardent enemy, and president of the first council of war, by which he had been condemned, desired to speak to me, promised every sort of good fortune and protection if I would discover what means had secretly been employed in the revision of the process ; and went so far as to offer me four thousand florins if I would aid a prosecution against my cousin. Here I learned the influence of villains in power, and the injustice of judges at Vienna. The proposal I rejected with disdain, and rather determined to seek my fortune in the East-Indies, than continue in a country where, under the best of queens, the most loyal of subjects, and first of soldiers, I might be rendered miserable by interested, angry, and corrupt courtiers. Certain it is, as I now can prove, that Trenck, though the bitterest of my enemies, and whose conduct towards me me-

rited my whole resentment, was the best soldier in the Austrian army, had been liberal of his blood and fortune in the imperial service, and would still so have continued, had not his wealth, and his contempt for Weber and Lowenwalde, put him in the power of those wretches, who were the avowed enemies of courage and patriotism, and who only can maintain their authority, and sate their thirst of gain, by the base and wicked arts of courts. Had my cousin shared the plunder of the war among these men, he had not fallen the martyr of their intrigues, and died in the Spielberg. His accusers were, generally, unprincipled men, of ruined fortunes; and so insufficient were their accusations, that a useful member of society ought not, for any or all of them, to have suffered an hour's imprisonment. Being fully informed, both of all the circumstances of the prosecution, and the inmost secrets of his heart, justice requires I should thus publicly declare this truth, and vindicate his memory. While living he was my bitterest enemy, and even though dead was the cause of all my future sufferings; therefore the account I shall give of him, in the succeeding pages, will certainly be the less liable to suspicion, where I shall show that he, as well as myself, deserved better of Austria.

I was resolved for ever to forsake Vienna. The friends of Trenck all became distrustful of him, because of his ingratitude to me. Prince Charles still endeavoured to persuade me to a reconciliation, and gave me a letter of recommendation to general Brown, who then commanded the imperial army of Italy: but more desirous of going to India, I left Vienna in August, 1748, desirous of owing no obligation to that city or its inhabitants, and went for Holland. Meantime the enemies of Trenck found no one to oppose their iniquitous proceedings, and obtained a sentence of imprisonment, in the Spielberg, where he too late repented having betrayed his faithful adviser and prudent friend. I pitied him; and his judges certainly deserved the punishment they inflicted; yet to his last moment he showed his

hatred towards me was rooted; and, even in the grave, strove by his will to involve me in misfortune, as will hereafter be seen.

I fled from Vienna; would to God it had been for ever! but fate, by strange ways and unknown means, brought me back, where Providence thought proper I should become a vessel of wrath and persecution: I was to enact my part in Europe, and not in Asia. At Nuremberg I met with a body of Russians, commanded by general Lieuwen, my mother's relation, who were marching to the Netherlands, and were the peace-makers of Europe. Major Buschikow, whom I had known when Russian resident at Vienna, prevailed on me to visit him, and presented me to the general. I pleased him, and may say, with truth, he behaved to me like a friend and a father. He advised me to enter into the Russian service, and gave me a company of dragoons, in the regiment of Tobolski, on condition I should not leave him, but employ myself in his cabinet; and his confidence and esteem for me were unbounded.

Peace followed; the army returned to Moravia, without firing a musket, and the head-quarters were fixed at Prosnitz.

In this town a public entertainment was given, by general Lieuwen, on the coronation-day of the empress Elizabeth; and here an adventure happened to me, which I shall ever remember, as a warning to myself, and insert as a memento to others.

The army physician, on this day, kept a faro bank, for the entertainment of the guests. My stock of money consisted of two and twenty ducats. Thirst of gain, or perhaps example, induced me to venture two of these, which I immediately lost, and very soon, by venturing again to regain them, the whole two and twenty. Chagrined at my folly, I returned home: I had nothing but a pair of pistols left, for which, because of their workmanship, general Woyekow had offered me twenty ducats. These I took, intending, by

their aid, to attempt to retrieve my loss. Firing of guns and pistols were heard throughout the town, because of the festival; and I, in imitation of the rest, went to the window, and fired mine. After a few discharges, one of my pistols burst, and endangered my own hand, and wounded my servant. I felt a momentary despondency, stronger than I ever remembered to have experienced before; insomuch that I was half induced, with the remaining pistol, to shoot myself through the head. I however recovered my spirits, asked my servant what money he had, and received from him three ducats. With these I repaired, like a desperate gamester, once more to the faro table, at the general's; again began to play, and, so extraordinary was my run of luck, I won at every venture. Having recovered my principal, I played on upon my winnings, till at last I had absolutely broken the doctor's bank. A new bank was set up, and I won the greatest part of this likewise; so that I brought home about six hundred ducats.

Rejoiced at my good fortune, but recollecting my danger, I had the prudence to make a solemn resolution never more to play at any game of chance; to which I have ever strictly adhered.

It were to be wished young men would reflect upon the effects of gaming, remembering that the love of play has made the most promising and virtuous, miserable; the honest, knaves; and the sincere, deceivers and liars. Officers, having first lost all their own money, being intrusted with the soldiers' pay, have next lost that also; and thus been cashiered, and eternally disgraced. I might at Prosnitz have been equally rash and culpable. The first venture, whether the gamester wins or loses, ensures a second; and with that, too often destruction. My good fortune was almost miraculous, and my subsequent resolution very uncommon; and I intreat and conjure my children, when I shall no longer be living to advise and watch for their welfare, most determinedly to avoid play. I seemed pre-

served by Providence, from this evil, but to endure much greater.

General Lieuwen, my kind patron, sent me from Krakow, to conduct a hundred and forty sick men down the Vistula to Dantzic, where there were Russian vessels to receive and transport them to Riga.

I requested permission of the general to proceed forward, and visit my mother and sister, whom I was very desirous to see : at Elbing, therefore, I resigned the command to lieutenant Platen, and, attended by a servant, rode to the bishopric of Ermeland, where I had appointed an interview with them in a frontier village.

Here an incident happened that had nearly cost me my life. The Prussians, some days before, had carried off a peasant's son, from this village, as a recruit. The people were all in commotion. I wore leathern breeches, and the blue uniform of the Russian cavalry. They took me for a Prussian, at the door, and fell upon me with every kind of weapon. A chasseur, who happened to be there, and the landlord, came to my assistance ; while I, battling with the peasants, had thrown two of them down. I was delivered, but not till I had received, among others, two violent bruises ; one on the left arm, and another which broke the bridge of my nose. The landlord advised me to escape as fast as possible, or that the village would rise and certainly murder me ; my servant, therefore, who had retired, for defence, with a pair of pistols, into the oven, got ready the horses, and we rode off.

I had my bruises dressed at the next village ; my hand and eyes were exceedingly swelled ; but I was obliged to ride two miles farther, to the town of Ressel, before I could find an able surgeon ; and here I so far recovered, in a week, that I was able to return to Dantzic. My brother visited me, while at Ressel ; but my good mother had the misfortune, as she was coming to me, to be thrown out of her car-

riage, by which her arm was broken, so that she and my sister were obliged to return ; and I never saw her more.

I was now at Dantzic, with my sick convoy, where another most remarkable event happened, which I, with good reason, shall ever remember.

I became acquainted with a Prussian officer, whose name I shall conceal, out of respect to his very worthy family : he visited me daily, and we often rode out together in the neighbourhood of Dantzic.

My faithful servant became acquainted with his, and my astonishment was indeed great when he said one day to me, with anxiety, “ Beware, sir, of a snare laid for you by lieutenant N——— ; he means to entice you out of town, and deliver you up to the Prussians.” I asked him where he learned this : “ From the lieutenant’s servant,” answered he, “ who is my friend, and wishes to save me from misfortune.”

I now, with the aid of a couple of ducats, discovered the whole affair ; and learned it was agreed between the Prussian resident, Reimer, and the lieutenant, that the latter should entice me into the suburb of Langfuhr, where there was an inn on the Prussian territories : here eight recruiting under-officers were to wait concealed, and seize me the moment I entered the house, hurry me into a carriage, and drive away for Lauenberg in Pomerania. Two under-officers were to escort me, on horseback, as far as the frontiers, and the remainder to hold, and prevent me from calling for help, so long as we should remain on the territories of Dantzic.

I farther learned my enemies were only to be armed with sabres ; and that they were to wait behind the door. The two officers on horseback were to secure my servant, and prevent him from riding off and raising an alarm.

These preparations might easily have been rendered fruitless, by my refusing to accept the proposal of the lieutenant : but vanity gave me other advice ; and resentment made me desirous of avenging myself for such detestable treachery.

Lieutenant N—— came, about noon, to dine with me as usual ; was more pensive and serious than I had ever observed him before, and left me, at four in the afternoon, after having promised to ride early next day with him as far as Langfuhr. I observed my consent gave him great pleasure ; and my heart then pronounced sentence on the traitor. The moment he had left me I went to the Russian resident, M. Scheerer, an honest Swiss, related the whole conspiracy, and asked whether I might not take six men under my command for my own personal defence. I told him my plan, which he at first opposed ; but, seeing me obstinate, he answered, at last, “ Do as you please ; I must know nothing of the matter, nor will I make myself responsible.”

I immediately joined my soldiers, selected six men, and took them, while it was dark, opposite the Prussian inn, hid them in the corn, with an order to run to my help, with their firelocks loaded, the first discharge they should hear, to seize all who should fall into their power, and only to fire in case of resistance. I provided them with fire-arms, by concealing them in the carriage which brought them to their hiding-place.

Notwithstanding all these precautions, I still thought it necessary to prevent surprise, by informing myself what were the proceedings of my enemies, lest my intelligence should have been false ; and I learned from my spies that, at four in the morning, the Prussian resident, Reimer, had left the city with post-horses.

I loaded mine and my servant's horse and pocket pistols, prepared my Turkish sabre, and, in gratitude to the lieutenant's man, promised to take him into my service, being convinced of his honesty.

The lieutenant cheerfully entered about six in the morning, expatiated on the fineness of the weather, and jocosely told me I should be very kindly received by the handsome landlady of Langfuhr.

I was soon ready ; we mounted, and left the town

attended by our servants. Some three hundred paces from the inn my worthy friend proposed that we should alight and let our servants lead the horses, that we might enjoy the beauty of the morning: I consented; and, having dismounted, observed his treacherous eyes sparkle with pleasure.

The resident, Reimer, was at the window of the inn, and called out, as soon as he saw me, "Good morrow, captain! good morrow! come, come in, your breakfast is waiting." I, sneering, smiled, and told him I had not time at present. So saying, I continued my walk; but my companion would absolutely force me to enter, took me by the arm, and partly struggled with me;—on which, losing all patience, I gave him a blow, which almost knocked him down, and ran to my horses as if I meant to fly.

The Prussians instantly rushed from behind their door, with clamour, to attack me. I fired at the first; my Russians sprang from their hiding-place, presented the pieces, and called "*Stuy, stuy, yebionnamat.*"

The terror of the poor Prussians may well be supposed. All began to run. I had taken care to make sure of my lieutenant, and was next running to seize the resident, but he had escaped out of the back door, with the loss only of his white perriwig. The Russians had taken four prisoners, and I commanded them to bestow fifty strokes upon each of them, in the open street. An ensign, named Casseburg, having told me his name, and that he had been my brother's school-fellow, begged remission, and excused himself on the necessity which he was under to obey his superiors. I admitted his excuses, and suffered him to go. I then drew my sword, and bade the lieutenant defend himself; but he was so confused, that, after drawing his sword, he asked my pardon, laid the whole blame upon the resident, and had not the power to put himself upon his guard. I twice jerked his sword out of his hand; and, at last, taking the Russian corporal's cane, I exhausted my

strength with beating him, without his offering the least resistance. Such is the meanness of detected treachery. I left him kneeling, saying to him, "Go, rascal! now, and tell your comrades the manner in which Trenck punishes robbers on the highway."

The people had assembled round us during the action, to whom I related the affair; and the attack having happened on the territories of Dantzic, the Prussians were in danger of being stoned by the populace. I and my Russians marched off victorious, proceeded to the harbour, embarked, and three or four days after set sail for Riga.

It is remarkable that none of the public papers took any notice of this affair; no satisfaction was required. The Prussians, no doubt, were ashamed of being defeated in an attempt so perfidious.

I since have learned that Frederic, no doubt by the false representations of Reimer, was highly irritated; and what afterwards happened proves his anger pursued me through every corner of the earth, till at last I fell into his power at Dantzic, and suffered a martyrdom most unmerited and unexampled.

The Prussian envoy, Goltz, indeed, made complaints to count Bestuchef, concerning this Dantzic skirmish, but received no satisfaction. My conduct was justified in Russia, I having defended myself against assassins as a Russian captain ought.

Some dispassionate readers may blame me for not having avoided this rencounter, and demanded personal satisfaction of lieutenant N—. But I have, through life, rather sought than avoided danger. My vanity and revenge were both roused. I was every-where persecuted by the Prussians, and was therefore determined to show that, far from fearing, I was able to defend myself.

I hired the servant of the lieutenant, whom I found honest and faithful, and whom I comfortably settled in marriage, at Vienna, in 1753. After my ten years' imprison-

ment, I found him poor, and again took him into my service, in which he died, at Zwerbach, in 1779.

And now behold me at sea on my voyage to Riga. I had eaten heartily before I went on board : a storm came on : I worked half the night, to aid the crew, but at length became sea-sick, and went to lie down. Scarcely had I closed my eyes before the master came with the joyful tidings, as he thought, that we were running for the port of Pillau. Far from pleasing, this, to me, was dreadful intelligence. I ran on deck, saw the harbour right before me, and a pilot coming off. The sea must now be either kept in a storm, or I fall into the hands of the Prussians ; for I was known to the whole garrison of Pillau.

I desired the captain to tack about and keep the sea, but he would not listen to me. Perceiving this, I flew to my cabin, snatched my pistols, returned, seized the helm, and threatened the captain with instant death if he did not obey. My Russians began to murmur ; they were averse to encountering the dangers of the storm, but luckily they were still more averse to meet my anger, overawed, as they were, by my pistols, and my two servants, who stood by me faithfully.

Half an hour after the storm began to subside, and we fortunately arrived, the next day, in the harbour of Riga. The captain, however, could not be appeased, but accused me before the old and honourable marshal Lacy, then governor of Riga. I was obliged to appear, and replied to the charge by relating the truth. The governor answered, " My obstinacy might have occasioned the death of a hundred and sixty persons." I smiling retorted, " I have brought them all into port, please your excellency ; and, for my part, my fate would have been more merciful, by falling into the hands of my God than into the hands of my enemies. My danger was so great, that I forgot the danger of others, besides, sir, I know my comrades were soldiers, and feared death as little as I do." My answer pleased the

fine grey-headed general, and he gave me a recommendation to the chancellor Bestuchef at Moscow.

General Lieuwen had marched from Moravia, for Russia, with the army, and was then at Riga. I went to pay him my respects ; he kindly received me, and took me to one of his seats, named Annaburg, four miles from Riga. Here I remained some days, and he gave me every recommendation to Moscow, where the court then was. It was intended I should endeavour to obtain a company in the regiment of cuirassiers, the captains of which then ranked as majors ; and he advised me to throw up my commission in the Siberian regiment of Tobolski dragoons. Peace be to the means and the memory of this worthy man ! May God reward his benevolence ; From Riga I departed, in company with M. Oettinger, lieutenant-colonel of engineers, and lieutenant Wiesmann, for Moscow. This is the same Wiesmann who rendered so many important services to Russia, during the last war with the Turks.

On my arrival, after delivering my letters of recommendation, I was particularly well received by count Bestuchef. Oettinger, whose friendship I had gained, was exceedingly intimate with the chancellor ; and my interest was thereby promoted.

I had not been long at Moscow before I met count Hamilton, my former friend during my abode at Vienna. He was captain of cavalry in the regiment of general Bernes, who had been sent as imperial ambassador to Russia.

Bernes had been ambassador at Berlin in 1743, where he had consequently known me during the height of my favour at the court of Frederic. Hamilton presented me to him, and I had the good fortune so far to gain his friendship, that, after a few visits, he endeavoured to detach me from the Russian service, offering me the strongest recommendations to Vienna, and a company in his own regiment. My cousin's misfortunes, however, had left too deep an impres-

sion upon my memory, for me to follow his advice. The Indies would then have been preferred by me to Austria.

Bernes invited me to dine with him in company with his bosom friend, lord Hyndford, the English ambassador. How great was the pleasure I that day received ! This eminent statesman had known me at Berlin, and was present when Frederic had honoured me, with saying, *C'est un matador de ma jeunesse*. He was well read in men, conceived a good opinion of my abilities, and became a friend and a father to me. He seated me by his side at table, and asked me, " Why came you here, Trenck ? " — " In search of bread and honour, my lord," answered I, " having unmeritedly lost them both in my own country." He farther inquired the state of my finances ; I told him my whole store might be some thirty ducats.

" Take my counsel," said he ; " you have the necessary qualifications to succeed in Russia ; but the people here despise poverty, judge from the exterior only, and do not include services, or talents, in the estimate ; you must have the appearance of being wealthy. I and Bernes will introduce you into the best families, and will supply you with the necessary means of support. Splendid liveries, led horses, diamond rings, deep play, a bold front, undaunted freedom with statesmen, and gallantry among the ladies, are the means by which foreigners must make their way in this country. Avail yourself of them and leave the rest to us." This lesson lasted some time. Bernes entered in the interim, and they determined mutually to contribute towards my promotion.

Few of the young men who seek their fortune in foreign countries meet incidents so favourable. Fortune for a moment seemed willing to recompense my past sufferings, and again to raise me to the height from which I had fallen. These ambassadors, here again by accident met, had before been witnesses of my prosperity when at Berlin. The talents I possessed, and the favour I then enjoyed, attracted the

notice of all foreign ministers. They were bosom friends, equally well read in the human heart, and equally benevolent and noble-minded: their recommendation at court was decisive; the nations they represented were in alliance with Russia, and the confidence Bestuchef placed in them was unbounded.

I was now introduced into all companies, not as a foreigner who came to entreat employment, but as the heir of the house of Trenck, and its rich Hungarian possessions, and as the former favourite of the Prussian monarch.

I was also admitted to the society of the first literati, and wrote a poem on the anniversary of the coronation of the empress Elizabeth. Hyndford took care she should see it, and, in conjunction with the chancellor, presented me to the sovereign. My reception was most gracious; she herself recommended me to the chancellor, and presented me with a gold-hilted sword, worth a thousand rubles. This raised me highly in the esteem of all the houses of the Bestuchef party.

Manners were at that time so rude in Russia, that every foreigner who gave a dinner, or a ball, must send notice to the chancellor Bestuchef, that he might return a list of the guests allowed to be invited. Faction governed every thing; and wherever Bestuchef was, no friend of Woronzow durst appear. I was the intimate of the Austrian and English ambassadors; consequently, was caressed and esteemed in all companies. I soon became the favourite of the chancellor's lady, as I shall hereafter notice; and nothing more was wanting to obtain all I could wish*.

I was well acquainted with architectural design, had free access to the house and cabinet of the chancellor, where I drew in company with colonel Oettinger, who was then the

* Books, anecdotes, private scandal, all inform us that the Chesterfield system, far from being supposed depraved, is held honourable; and its pupils boast of their exploits in all foreign countries. We say foreign, for we have an ardent hope England is still an exception.

head architect of Russia ; and made the perspective view of the new palace, which the chancellor intended to build at Moscow, by which I acquired universal honour. I had gained more acquaintance in, and knowledge of, Russia in one month, than others wanting my means, have done in twelve.

As I was one day relating my progress to lord Hyndford, he, like a friend, grown grey in courts, kindly took the parental trouble to advise me. From him I obtained a perfect knowledge of Russia ; he was acquainted with all the intrigues of European courts, their families, party cabals, the foibles of the monarchs, the principles of their government, the plans of the great Peter, and had also made the peace of Breslaw. Thus, having been the confidential friend of Frederic, he was intimately acquainted with his heart, as well as the sources of his power. Hyndford was penetrating, noble-minded, had the greatness of the Briton, without his haughtiness ; and the principles, by which he combined the past, the present, and the future, were so clear, that I, his scholar, by adhering to them, have been enabled to foretell all the most remarkable revolutions that have happened during the space of six and thirty years, in Europe. By these I knew, when any minister was disgraced, who should be his successor. I daily passed some hours improving by his kind conversation ; and to him am I indebted for most of that knowledge of the world I happen to possess.

He took various opportunities of cautioning me against the effects of an ardent, sanguine temper, and my hatred of arbitrary power ; warned me to beware of the determined persecution of Frederic, of his irreconcilable anger, his intrigues and influence in the various courts of Europe, which he would certainly exert to prevent my promotion, lest I should impede his own projects ; and lamented my future sufferings, which he plainly foresaw. " Despots," said he, " always are suspicious, and abhor those who have a consciousness of their own worth, of the rights of

mankind, and hold the lash of slavery in detestation. The enlightened are, by them, called restless spirits, turbulent and dangerous ; and virtue, there, where virtue is unnecessary for the humbling and trampling upon the suffering subject, is accounted a crime, of all others, the most to be dreaded."

Hyndford taught me to know, and highly to value, freedom, to despise tyrants, to endure the worst of miseries, to emulate true greatness of mind, to despise danger, and to honour only those whose elevation of soul had taught them equally to oppose bigotry and despotism.

Bernes was a philosopher, but with the penetration of an Italian, more cautious than Hyndford, yet equally honest and worthy. His friendship for me was unbounded ; and the time passed in their company was esteemed, by me, most precious. The liberality of my sentiments, thirst after knowledge and scientific acquirements, gained their favour : our topics of conversation were inexhaustible ; and I acquired more real information at Moscow than at Berlin, under the tuition of la Metri, Maupertuis, and Voltaire.

Scarcely had I been six weeks in this city before I had an adventure which I shall here relate ; for, myself excepted, all the persons concerned in it are now dead. Intrigues properly belong to novels. This book is intended for a more serious purpose, and they are, therefore, here usually suppressed. It cannot be supposed I was a woman-hater. Most of the good or bad fortune I experienced originated in love. I was not, by nature, inconstant, and was incapable of deceit even in amours. In the very ardour of youth I always shunned mere sensual pleasures. I loved for more exalted reasons, and for such sought to be loved again. Love and friendship were, with me, always united ; and these I was capable of inciting, maintaining, and deserving. The most difficult of access, the noblest and the fairest, were ever my choice ; and my veneration for these always deterred me from grosser gratifications. By woman

I was formed ; by the faith of woman supported under misfortunes ; in the company of woman enjoyed the few hours of delight my life of sorrows has experienced. Woman, beautiful and well instructed, even now, lightens the burthen of age, the world's tediousness, and its woes ; and when these are ended, I would rather wish my eyes might be closed by fair and virgin hands, than, when expiring, fixed on a hypocritical priest.

My adventures with woman would amply furnish a romance : but enough of this. I should not relate the present, were it not necessary to my story*.

Dining one public day with lord Hyndford, I was seated beside a charming young lady of one of the best families in Russia, who had been promised in marriage, though only seventeen, to an old invalid minister. Her eyes soon told me she thought me preferable to her intended bridegroom. I understood them, lamented her hard fate, and was surprised to hear her exclaim, " Oh Heavens ! that it were possible you could deliver me from my misfortune ! I would engage to do whatever you would direct."

The impression such an appeal must make on a man of four and twenty, of a temperament like mine, may easily be supposed. The lady was ravishingly beautiful : her soul was candour itself, and her rank that of a princess ; but the court commands had already been given in favour of the marriage ; and flight, with all its inseparable dangers, was the only expedient. A public table was no place for long explanations. Our hearts were already one. I requested an interview, and the next day was appointed, the place the Trotzer garden, where I passed three rapturous hours in her company ; thanks to her woman, who was a Georgian.

To escape, however, from Moscow, was impossible. The

* It would be unpardonable not to warn the youthful reader of the mixture of good and bad morality in what the baron has here, and in many other places, been pleased to say concerning love ; or, rather, as he too often and too evidently means, the worst part of love, gallantry.

distance thence, to any foreign country, was too great. The court was not to remove to Petersburg till the next spring, and her marriage was fixed for the first of August. The misfortune was not to be remedied, and nothing was left us but patience perforce. We could only resolve to fly from Petersburg, when there, the soonest possible, and to take refuge in some corner of the earth, where we might remain unknown of all. The marriage, therefore, was celebrated with pomp ; though I, in despite of forms, was the true husband of the princess. Such was the state of the husband imposed upon her, that, to describe it, and not give disgust, were impossible.

The princess gave me her jewels, and several thousand rubles, which she had received as a nuptial present, that I might purchase every thing necessary for flight : my evil destiny, however, had otherwise determined. I was playing at ombre with her, one night, at the house of the countess of Bestuchef, when she complained of a violent head-ach, appointed me to meet her, on the morrow, in the Trotzer gardens, clasped my hand with inexpressible emotion, and departed. Alas ! I never beheld her more, till stretched upon her bier !

She grew delirious that very night, and so continued till her death, which happened on the sixth day, when the small-pox began to appear. During her dereliction she discovered our love, and incessantly called on me to deliver her from her tyrant. Thus, in the flower of her age, perished one of the most lovely women I ever knew ; and with her fled all I held most dear.

All my plans were now to be new arranged. Lord Hyndford alone was in the secret, for I had no secrets from him : he strengthened me in my first resolution, and owned that he himself, for such a mistress, might perhaps have been weak enough to have acted as I had done. Almost as much moved as myself, he sympathised with me like a friend ; and his advice deterred me from ending my miseries, and

descending with her, whom I had loved and lost, to the grave. This was the severest trial I had ever felt. Our affection was unbounded, and such only as noble hearts can feel. She being gone, the whole world became a desert. There is not a man on earth whose life affords more various turns of fate than mine. Swiftly raised to the highest pinnacle of hope, as suddenly was I cast headlong down; and so remarkable were these revolutions, that he who has read my history will at last find it difficult to say whether he envies or pities me most. And yet these were, in reality, but preparatory to the evils that hovered over my devoted head. Had not the remembrance of past joys soothed and supported me under my sufferings, I certainly should not have endured the ten years torture of the Magdeburg dungeon, with a fortitude that might have been worthy even of Socrates.

Enough of this. My blood again courses swifter through my veins as I write! Rest, gentle maiden, noble and lovely as thou wert! For thee ought Heaven to have united a form so fair, animated as it was by a soul so pure, to ever-blooming youth and immortality.

My love for this lady became well known in Moscow; yet her corpulent overgrown husband had not understanding enough to suppose there was any meaning in her rhapsodies during her delirium.

Her gifts to me amounted, in value, to about seven thousand ducats. Lord Hyndford and count Bernes both adjudged them legally mine; and well am I assured her heart had bequeathed me much more.

To this event succeeded another, by which my fortune was greatly influenced. The countess of Bestuchef was then the most amiable and witty woman at court. Her husband, cunning, selfish, but shallow, had the name of minister, while she, in reality, governed with a genius at once daring and comprehensive. The too pliant Elizabeth carelessly

left the most important things to the direction of others. Thus the countess was the first person of the empire, and on whom the attention of all the foreign ministers was fixed.

Haughty and majestic in demeanor, she was supposed to be the only woman at court who continued faithful to her husband ; which supposition probably originated in her art and education, she being a German born ; for I afterwards found her virtue was only pride, and a knowledge of the national character. The Russian lover rules despotic over his mistress ; requires money, submission, and should he meet opposition, threatens her with blows and the discovery of her secret.

During Elizabeth's reign foreigners could neither appear at court, nor in the best company, without the introduction of Bestuchef. I and Sievers, gentlemen of the chamber, were at that time the only Germans who had free egress in all houses of fashion : my being protected by the English and Austrian ambassadors, gave me very peculiar advantages, and made my company every where courted.

Bestuchef had been resident, during the late reign, at Hamburg, in which inferior station he married the countess, at that time, though young and handsome, only the widow of the merchant Boettger. Under Elizabeth Bestuchef rose to the summit of rank and power ; and the widow Boettger became the first lady in the empire. When I knew her, she was eight and thirty, consequently no beauty, though a woman highly endowed in mind and manners, of keen discernment, disliking the Russians, protecting the Prussians, and at whose aversion all trembled.

Her carriage towards the Russians was, what it must be in her situation, lofty, cautious, and ironical, rather than kind. To me she showed the utmost esteem on all occasions, welcomed me to her table, and often admitted me to drink coffee in company with herself alone and colonel Oettinger. The countess never failed giving me to understand she had perceived my love for the princess N—— ;

and, though I constantly denied the fact, she related circumstances which she could have known, as I thought, only from my mistress herself: my silence pleased her; for the Russians, when a lady has a partiality for them, never fail to vaunt of their good fortune. She wished to persuade me she had observed us in company, had read the language of our eyes, and had long penetrated our secret. I was ignorant at that time that she then, and had long before, entertained the maid of my mistress as a spy in her pay.

About a week after the death of the princess, the countess invited me to take coffee with her in her chamber; lamented my loss, and the violence of that passion which had deprived me of all my customary vivacity, and altered my very appearance. She seemed so interested in my behalf, and expressed so many wishes, and so ardent, to better my fate, that I could no longer doubt. Another opportunity soon happened, which confirmed these my suspicions: her mouth confessed her sentiments. Discretion, secrecy, and fidelity, were the laws she imposed; and never did I experience a more ardent passion from woman. Such was her understanding and penetration, she knew how to rivet my affections.

Caution was the thing most necessary. She contrived, however, to make opportunity. The chancellor valued, confided in me, and employed me in his cabinet; so that I remained whole days in the house. My captainship of cavalry was now no longer thought of: I was destined to political employment. My first was to be gentleman of the chamber, which in Russia is an office of importance; and the prospect of futurity became to me most resplendent. Lord Hyndford, ever the repository of my secrets, counselled me, formed plans for my conduct, rejoiced at my success, and refused to be reimbursed the expence he had been at, though now my circumstances were prosperous.

The degree of credit I enjoyed soon was noticed: foreign ministers began to pay their court to me; Goltz, the Prussian

minister, made every effort to win me, but found me incorruptible.

The Russian alliance was at this time highly courted by foreign powers ; the humbling of Prussia was the thing generally wished and planned ; and nobody was better informed than myself of ministerial and family factions at this court.

My mistress, a year after my acquaintance with her, fell into her enemies' power, and, with her husband, was delivered over to the executioner. Chancellor Bestuchef, in the year 1756, was forced to confession, by the knout. Apraxin, minister of war, had a similar fate. The wife of his brother, then envoy in Poland, was, by the treachery of a certain lieutenant Berger, with three others of the first ladies of the court, knouted, branded, and had their tongues cut out. This happened in the year 1741, when Elizabeth ascended the throne. Her husband, however, faithfully served ; I knew him, as Russian envoy, at Vienna, in 1751. This may indeed be called the love of our country, and thus does it happen to the first men of the state : what then can a foreigner hope for, if persecuted, and in the power of those in authority* ?

No man, in so short a space of time, had greater opportunities than I to discover the secrets of state ; especially when guided by Hyndford and Bernes, under the reign of a well-meaning, but short-sighted empress, whose first minister was a weak man, directed by the will of an able and ambitious wife ; and which wife loved me, a stranger, an acquaintance only of a few months, so passionately, that to this passion she would have sacrificed every other object. She might, in fact, be considered as empress of Russia, disposing of peace or war ; and, had I been more prudent or

* There is a confusion of dates, as well as facts, in the above paragraphs. Perhaps there may be some error of the press ; and the baron's long imprisonment, and the advanced age in which he wrote, might both, or either, lead to mistake. The baron's chronology, even of himself, is, throughout, very inaccurate.

less sincere, I might, in such a situation, have amassed treasures, and deposited them in full security. Her generosity was boundless ; and, though obliged to pay above a hundred thousand rubles in one year, to discharge her son's debts, yet might I have saved a still larger sum ; but half of the gifts she obliged me to receive I lent to this son, and lost. So far was I from selfishness, and so negligent of wealth, that, by supplying the wants of others, I often, on a reverse of fortune, suffered want myself.

This my splendid success in Russia dispeased the great Frederic, whose persecution every where attended me, and who supposed his interest injured by my success in Russia. The incident I am going to relate was, at the time it happened, well known to, and caused much agitation among, all the foreign ambassadors.

Lord Hyndford desired I would make him a fair copy of a plan of Cronstadt, for which he furnished the materials, with three additional drawings of the various ships in the harbour, and their names. There was neither danger nor suspicion attending this ; the plan of Cronstadt being no secret, but publicly sold in the shops of Petersburg. England was likewise then in the closest alliance with Russia. Hyndford showed the drawing to Funk, the Saxon envoy, his intimate friend, who asked his permission to copy it himself. Hyndford gave him the plan signed with my name ; and after Funk had been some days employed copying it, the Prussian minister, Goltz, who lived in his neighbourhood, came in, as he frequently paid him friendly visits. Funk, unsuspectingly, showed him my drawing ; and both lamented that Frederic had lost so useful a subject. Goltz asked to borrow it, for a couple of days, in order to correct his own ; and Funk, one of the worthiest, most honest, and least suspicious of men, who loved me like a brother, accordingly lent the plan.

No sooner was Goltz in possession of it, than he hurried to the chancellor, with whose weaknesses he was well

acquainted, told him his intent in coming was to prove that a man, who had once been unfaithful to his king and country, where he had been loaded with favours, would certainly betray, for his own private interest, every state where he was trusted. He continued his preface, by speaking of the rapid progress I had made in Russia, and the free entrance I had found in the chancellor's house, where I was received as a son, and initiated in the secrets of the cabinet.

The chancellor defended me :—Goltz then endeavoured to incite his jealousy, and told him my private interviews with his wife, especially in the palace garden, were publicly spoken of. This he had learned from his spies, he having endeavoured, by the snares he laid, to make my destruction certain.

He likewise led Bestuchef to suspect his secretary S—n, was a party in the intrigue ; till at last the chancellor became very angry ; Goltz then took my plan of Cronstadt from his pocket, and added, “ Your excellency is nourishing a serpent in your bosom. This drawing have I received from Trenck, copied from your cabinet designs, for two hundred ducats.” He knew I was employed there sometimes with Oettinger, whose office it was to inspect the buildings and repairs of all the Russian fortifications. Bestuchef was astonished ; his anger became violent ; and Goltz added fuel to the flame, by insinuating I should not be so powerfully protected by Bernes, the Austrian ambassador, were it not to favour the views of his own court. Bestuchef mentioned prosecution and the knout ; Goltz replied, my friends were too powerful, my pardon would be procured, and the evil this way increased. They therefore determined to have me secretly secured, and privately conveyed to Siberia.

Thus, while I unsuspectingly dreamed of nothing but happiness, the gathering storm threatened destruction ; which only was averted by accident, or God's good providence.

Goltz had scarcely left the place, triumphant, when the chancellor entered, with bitterness and rancour in his heart, into his lady's apartment, reproached her with my conduct, and, while she endeavoured to sooth him, related all that had passed. Her penetration was much deeper than her husband's : she perceived there was a plot against me : she indeed knew my heart better than any other, and particularly that I was not in want of a poor two hundred ducats. She could not, however, appease him ; and my arrest was determined. She therefore instantly wrote me a line to the following purport :

“ You are threatened, dear friend, by a very imminent danger. Do not sleep to night at home, but secure yourself at Lord Hyndford's, till you hear farther from me.”

Secretary S—n, her confidant (the same who, not long since, was Russian envoy at Ratisbon), was sent with this note. He found me, after dinner, at the English ambassador's, and called me aside. I read the billet, was astonished at its contents, and showed it Lord Hyndford. My conscience was void of reproach, except that we suspected my secret with the countess had been betrayed to the chancellor ; and, fearing his jealousy, Hyndford commanded me to remain in his house till we should make further discovery.

We placed spies round the house where I lived : I was inquired for after midnight, and the lieutenant of the police came himself, and searched the house.

Lord Hyndford went, about ten in the morning, to visit the chancellor, that he might obtain some intelligence ; who immediately reproached him for having granted an asylum to a traitor. “ What has this traitor done ? ” said Hyndford. “ Faithlessly copied a plan of Cronstadt, from my cabinet drawings,” answered the chancellor, “ which he has sold to the Prussian minister, for two hundred ducats.”

Hyndford was astonished ; he knew me well, and also knew that he had then in money and jewels, more than eight thousand ducats of mine in his own hands ; nor was

he less ignorant of the little value I set on money, or of the sources whence I could obtain it, when I pleased. "Has your excellency actually seen this drawing of 'Trenck's'?"—"Yes; I have been shown it by Goltz."—"I wish I might likewise be permitted to see it; I know Trenck's drawing, and make myself responsible that he is no traitor. Here is some mystery; be so kind as to desire M. Goltz will come, and bring his plan of Cronstadt. Trenck is at my house, shall be forthcoming instantly, and I will not protect him if he proves guilty."

The chancellor wrote to Goltz, but he, artful as he was, had, no doubt, taken care to be informed that the lieutenant of the police had missed his prey. He therefore sent an excuse, and did not appear. In the mean time I entered. Hyndford then addressed me, with the openness of an Englishman, and asked—"Are you a traitor, Trenck? If so, you do not merit my protection, but you stand here a state prisoner. Have you sold a plan of Cronstadt to M. Goltz?" My answer may easily be supposed. Hyndford rehearsed what the chancellor had told him, I was desired to leave the room, and Funk was sent for. The moment he came in, Hyndford said, "Sir, where is that plan of Cronstadt which Trenck copied?" Funk, hesitating, replied, "I will go for it." "Have you it," continued Hyndford, "at home? Speak upon your honour."—"No, my lord, I have lent it for a few days, to M. Goltz, that he may take a copy."

Hyndford immediately then saw the whole affair, told the chancellor the history of this plan, which belonged to him, and which he had lent to Funk, and requested a trusty person might be sent with him, to make proper search. Bestuchef named his first secretary, and to him were added Funk and the Dutch envoy, Schwart, who happened then to enter. All went together to the house of Goltz. Funk here demanded his plan of Cronstadt; Goltz gave it him, and Funk returned it to lord Hyndford.

The secretary and Hyndford both then desired he would

produce the plan of Cronstadt, which he had bought of Trenck for two hundred ducats. His confusion now was great, and Hyndford firmly insisted this plan should be forth-coming, to vindicate the honour of Trenck, whom he held to be an honest man. On this, Goltz answered, " I have received my king's commands to prevent the preferment of Trenck in Russia, and I have only fulfilled the duty of a minister."

Hyndford spit on the ground, and said more than I now choose to repeat ; after which the four gentlemen returned to the chancellor, and I was again called. Every body complimented me, related what had passed, and the chancellor promised I should be recompensed ; strictly however forbidding me to take any revenge on the Prussian ambassador, I having sworn, in the first transports of anger, to punish him wherever I should find him, even were it at the altar's foot.

The chancellor soothed me, kept me to dine with him, and endeavoured to assuage my boiling passions. The countess affected indifference, and asked me if such-like actions characterised the Prussian nation. Funk and Schwart were at table. All present congratulated me on my victory, but none knew to whom I was indebted for deliverance from the hasty and unjust condemnation of the chancellor, although my protectress was one of the company. I received a present of two thousand rubles, the next day, from the chancellor, with orders to thank the empress for this mark of her bounty, and accept it as a sign of her especial favour. I paid these my thanks some days after. The money I disregarded ; but the amiable empress, by her enchanting benevolence, made me forget the past. The story became public, and Goltz appeared neither in company nor at court. The manner in which the countess, personally, reproached him, I shall, out of respect, pass over. Bernes, the crafty Piedmontese, assured me of revenge, without my troubling myself in the matter, and—what happened after I know not :

Goltz appeared but little in company, fell ill when I had left Russia, and died, soon after, of a consumption.

This vile man was, no doubt, the cause of all the calamities which afterwards fell upon me*. I should have become one of the first men in Russia ; the misfortunes that befel Bestuchef, and his family, some years afterwards, might have been averted ; I should never have returned to Vienna, a city so fatal to the name of Trenck ; by the mediation of the Russian court, I should have recovered my great Sclavonian estates ; my days of persecution, at Vienna, would have been passed in peace and pleasure : nor should I have entered the dungeon of Magdeburg.

How little did the *Great Frederic* know my heart ! Without having offended, he had rendered me miserable, had condemned me to imprisonment, at Glatz, on mere suspicion, and, flying thence, naked and destitute, had confiscated my paternal inheritance. Not contented with inflicting all these calamities, he would not suffer me, peaceably, to seek my fortune in a foreign land:

Few are the youths, who, in so short a time, being expelled their native country with disgrace, by their own efforts, merits, and talents, have obtained honour and favour so great, acquired such powerful friends, or been entrusted, with confidence equally unlimited, in transactions so important. Enraged as I was at the treachery of Goltz, had opportunity offered, I might have been tempted even to turn my native country into a desert ; nor do I deny that I afterwards promoted the views of the Austrian envoy, who knew well to cherish the flame that had been kindled, and turn it to his own use. Till this moment I certainly never felt the least enmity, either to my country or king, nor did I ever suffer myself, on any occasion, to be made the agent of their disadvantage.

* The baron forgets himself, and continually makes the person, or incident, he is then speaking of, the principal and first cause of his future sufferings. They were incurred by a combination of these causes.

No sooner was I entrusted, more intimately, with cabinet secrets, than I discovered the state of factions, and that Bestuchef and Apraxin were, even then, in Prussian pay; that a counterpoise, by their means, might be formed to the prevalence of the Austrian party.

Hence we may date the change of Russian politics in the year 1762. Here also we may find a clue to the contradictory orders, artifices, positions, retreats, and disappointments of the Russian army, in the seven years' war*. The countess, who was obliged to act with greater caution, foresaw the consequences of the various intrigues in which her husband was engaged: her love for me naturally drew her from her former party: she confided every secret to me, and ever remained till her fall, which happened in 1758, during my imprisonment, my best friend and correspondent. Hence was I so well informed of all the plans against Prussia, to the years 1754 and 1756; much more so than many ministers of the interested courts, who imagined they alone were in the secret. How many after events could I then have foretold! Such was the perverseness of my destiny, that, where I should most have been sought for, and best known, there was I least valued.

No man, in my youth, would have believed I should live to my sixtieth year, untitled and obscure. In Berlin, Petersburg, London, and Paris, have I been esteemed by the greatest statesmen, and now am I reduced to the invalid list. How strange are the caprices of fortune! I ought never to have left Russia; this was my great error, which I still live to repent.

I have never been accustomed to sleep more than four or five hours; so that, though, through life, I have allowed time for paying visits and receiving company, I have still had sufficient for study and improvement. Hyndford was my instructor in politics; Boerhaave, then physician to the court, and my bosom friend, my tutor in physic and literary

* Beginning in 1756; so called by the German writers.

subjects. Women formed me for court intrigues ; though these, as a philosopher, I despised.

The chancellor had greatly changed his carriage toward me since the incident of the plan. He observed my looks and words, showed he was distrustful, and desirous of revenge. His lady, as well as myself, remarked this, and new measures became necessary. I was obliged to act an artful, but, at the same time, a very dangerous part.

My cousin, baron Trenck, died in the Spielberg, Oct. 4, 1749, and left me his heir, on condition I should only serve the house of Austria. In March, 1750, count Bernes received the citation sent me to enter on this inheritance. I would hear nothing of Vienna ; the abominable treatment of my cousin terrified me. I well knew the origin of his prosecution, the services he had rendered his country, and had been an eye-witness of the injustice by which he was repaid. Bernes, however, represented that the property left me was worth much above a million ; that the empress would support me in the pursuit of justice, and that I had no personal enemy at Vienna ; that a million of certain property, in Hungary, was much superior to the highest expectations in Russia, where I myself had beheld so many changes of fortune, and the effects of family cabals. Russia he painted as dangerous, Vienna as secure, and promised me himself effectual assistance, as his embassy would end within the year. Were I once rich, I might reside in what country I pleased ; nor could the persecutions of Frederic, any where, pursue me so ineffectually as in Austria. Snares would be laid for me every where else, as I had experienced in Russia. " What," said he, " would have been the consequences, had not the countess warned you of the impending danger ? You, like many another honest and innocent man, would have been sent to Siberia. Your innocence must have remained unattested, and yourself, in the universal opinion, a villain and a traitor."

Hyndford spoke to me in the same tone, assured me of his

eternal protection, and described London as a certain asylum, should I not find happiness at Vienna. He spoke of slavery as a Briton ought to speak, reminded me of the fate of Munich and Osterman, painted the court such as I knew it to be, and asked what were my expectations, even were I fortunate enough to become general, or minister, in such a country ?

These reasonings, at length, determined me ; but having plenty of money, I thought proper to take Stockholm, Copenhagen, and Holland, in my way ; and Bernes was, in the mean time, to prepare me a favourable reception at Vienna. He desired, also, I would give him authority to get possession of the estates to which I was heir. My mistress strongly endeavoured to detain me ; but yielded at length, to the force of reason. I tore myself away, and promised, on my honour, to return as soon as I had arranged my affairs at Vienna. She made the proposition of investing me with some foreign embassy, by which I might render the most effectual services to the court of Vienna. In this hope we parted with heavy hearts : she presented me with her portrait, and a snuff-box set with diamonds : the first of these, three years afterwards, was torn from my bosom by the officers in my first dungeon at Magdeburg ; as I shall hereafter relate. The chancellor embraced me, at parting, with friendship. Apraxin wept, and clasped me in his arms, prophesying, at the same time, I should never be so happy as in Russia. I myself foreboded misfortune, and quitted Russia with regret ; but still followed the advice of Hyndford and Bernes.

From Moscow I travelled to Petersburg, where I found a letter, at the house of baron Wolf, the banker, from the countess, which rent my very heart, and almost determined me to return. She endeavoured to terrify me from proceeding to Vienna, yet inclosed a bill for four thousand rubles, to aid me on my journey, were I absolutely bent to turn my back on fortune.

My effects, in money and jewels, amounted to about thirty-six thousand florins ; I therefore returned the draught, intreated her eternal remembrance, and that she would reserve her favour and support to times in which they might become needful. After remaining a few days at Petersburg, I journeyed, by land, to Stockholm ; taking with me letters of recommendation from all the foreign envoys.

I forgot to mention that Funk was inconsolable for my departure ; his imprudence had nearly plunged me into misery, and destroyed all my hopes in Russia. Twenty-two years after this I met the worthy man once more in Dresden. He, there, considered himself as the cause of all the evils inflicted upon me, and assured me the recital of my sufferings had been so many cutting and bitter reproaches to his soul. Our recapitulation of former times gave us endless pleasure ; and it was the sweetest of joys to meet and renew my friendship with such a man, after having weathered so many storms of fate.

At Stockholm I wanted for no recommendation : the queen, sister to the great Frederic, had known me at Berlin, when I had the honour, as an officer of the body-guard, of accompanying her to Stettin. I related my whole history to her without reserve. She, from political motives, advised me not to make any stay at Stockholm ; and to me continued, till death, an ever gracious lady. I proceeded to Copenhagen, where I had business to transact for M. Chaise, the Danish envoy at Moscow ; from whom, also, I had letters of recommendation. Here I had the pleasure of meeting my old friend, lieutenant Bach, who had aided me in my escape from my imprisonment at Glatz. He was poor, and in debt ; and I procured him protection, by relating the noble manner in which he had behaved. I also presented him with five hundred ducats, by the aid of which he pushed his fortune. He wrote to me in the year 1776, a letter of sincerest thanks ; and died a colonel of hussars, in the Danish service, in 1779.

I remained in Copenhagen but a fortnight, and then sailed, in a Dutch ship, from Elsineur for Amsterdam. Scarcely had we put to sea before a storm arose, by which we lost a mast and our bowsprit, had our sails shattered, and were obliged to cast anchor among the rocks of Gottenburg; where our deliverance was singularly fortunate.

Here we lay nine days before we could make the open sea, and here I found a very pleasant amusement, by going daily in the ship's boat from rock to rock, attended by two of my servants, to shoot wild ducks, and catch shell-fish; whence I every evening returned with provisions, and sheeps' milk, bought of the poor inhabitants, for the ship's crew.

There was a dearth among these poor people. Our vessel was laden with corn; some of this I purchased, to the amount of some hundred of Dutch florins, and distributed wherever I went. I also gave one of their ministers a hundred florins for his poor congregation, who was himself in want of bread, and whose annual stipend did not amount to one hundred and fifty florins.

Here, in the sweet pleasure of doing good, I left behind me much of that money I had so easily acquired in Russia; and, perhaps, had we staid much longer, should myself have left the place in poverty. A thousand blessings followed me; and the storm-driven Trenck was long remembered and talked of at Gottenburg.

In this worthy employment, however, I had nearly lost my life. Returning from carrying corn, the wind rose, and drove the boat to sea. I not understanding the management of the helm, and the servant awkwardly handling the sails, the boat, in tacking, was upset. The benefit of learning to swim I again experienced; and my faithful servant, who had gained the rock, aided me when almost spent. The good people, who had seen the shallop upset, came off in their boats to my assistance. An honest Calmuc, whom I had brought from Russia, and another of my ser-

vants, perished. I saw the first sink after I had reached the shore.

The kind Swedes brought me on board, and also righted and returned with the shallop. For some days I was seasick. We weighed anchor, and sailed for the Texel; the mouth of which we saw, and the pilots coming off, when another storm rose, and drove us to the port of Bahus, in Norway, into which we ran, without farther damage. In some few days we again set sail, with a fair wind, and at length reached Amsterdam.

Here I made no long stay; for the day after my arrival, an extraordinary adventure happened, in which I was engaged chiefly by my own rashness.

I was a spectator while the harpooners, belonging to the whale fishery, were exercising themselves in darting their harpoons, most of whom were drunk. One of them, Herman Rogaar by name, a hero among these people for his dexterity with his snickasee, came up and passed some of his coarse jokes upon my Turkish sabre, and offered to fillip me on the nose. I pushed him from me, and the fellow threw down his cap, drew his snickasee, challenged me, called me monkey tail, and asked whether I chose a straight, a circular, or a cross cut.

Thus, here was I, in this excellent company, with no choice but that of either fighting or running away. The robust Herculean fellow grew more insolent, and I, turning round to the by-stander, asked them to lend me a snickasee: "No, no," said the challenger, "draw your great knife from your side, and long as it is, I will lay you a dozen ducats you get a gash in the cheek." I drew: he confidently advanced with his snickasee, and, at the first stroke of my sabre, that, and the hand that held it, both dropt to the ground, and the blood spouted in my face.

I now expected the people would, indubitably, tear me to pieces; but my fear was changed into astonishment at hearing a universal shout applauding the vanquisher of the

redoubted Herman Rogaar, who, so lately feared for his strength and dexterity, became the object of their ridicule. A Jew spectator conducted me out of the crowd, and the people clamorously followed me to my inn. This kind of duel, by which I gained honour, would any where else have brought me to the highest disgrace. A man who knew the use of the sabre, in a single day, might, certainly, have disabled a hundred Herman Rogaars. This story may instruct and warn others. He that is quarrelsome shall never want an enemy. My temerity often engaged me in disputes which, by timely compliance and calmness, might easily have been avoided; but my evil genius always impelled me into the paths of perplexity, I seldom saw danger till it was inevitable.

I left Amsterdam for the Hague, where I had been recommended to lord Holderness the English ambassador, by lord Hyndford; to baron Reischach, by Bernes; to the grand pensionary Fagel, by Schwart; and from the chancellor I had a letter to the prince of Orange himself. I could not therefore but be every where received with all possible distinction. With these recommendations, and the knowledge I possessed, had I had the good fortune to have avoided Vienna, and gone to India, where talents would have insured me wealth, how many tears of affliction had I been spared! My ill fortune, however, had brought me letters from count Bernes, assuring me that heaven was at Vienna, and including a citation from the high court, requiring me to give in my claim of inheritance. Bernes farther informed me the Austrian court had assured him I should meet with all justice and protection, and advised me to hasten my journey, as the executorship of the estates of Trenck was conducted but little to my advantage.

This advice I took, proceeded to Vienna, and from that moment all my happiness had an end. I became bewildered in law suits, and the arts of wicked men, and all possible calamities assaulted me at once, the recital of which would,

itself, afford subject matter for a history. They began by the following incidents.

One M. Schenck sought my acquaintance at the Hague. I met with him at my hotel, where he intreated I would take him to Nuremberg, whence he was to proceed to Saxony. I complied, and bore his expences; but at Hanau, waking in the morning, I found my watch, set with diamonds, a ring worth two thousand rubles, a diamond snuff-box, with my mistress's picture, and my purse, containing about eighty ducats, stolen from my bed-side, and Schenck become invisible. Little affected by the loss of money, at any time, I yet was grieved for my snuff-box. The rascal, however, had escaped, and it was fortunate that the remainder of my ready money, with my bills of exchange, were safely locked up.

I now pursued my journey without company, and arrived at Vienna. I cannot exactly recollect in what month, but I had been absent about two years; and the reader will allow that it was barely possible for any man, in so short a time, to have experienced more various changes of fate, though many smaller incidents have been suppressed. The places, where my pledged fidelity required discretion, will be easily supposed, as likewise will the concealment of court intrigues and artifices, the publication of which might even yet subject me to more persecutions. All writers are not permitted to speak truth of monarchs and ministers. I am the father of eight children, and parental love and duty vanquish the inclination of the author; and this duty, this affection, have made me particularly cautious in relating what happened to me at Vienna, that I might thereby serve them more effectually, than by indulging the pride of the writer, or the vengeance of the man.

Since accounts so various, contradictory, and dishonourable to the name of Trenck, have been circulated in Vienna, concerning facts which happened thirty-seven years ago, I will here give a short abstract of them, and such as may be

verified by the records of the courts. I pledge my honour to the truth of the statement, and, were I so allowed, would prove it to the conviction of any unprejudiced court of justice; but this I cannot hope, as princes are much more disposed to bestow unmerited favours than to make retribution to those whom they have unjustly punished.

Francis baron Trenck died in the Spielberg, October 4, 1749. It has been erroneously believed, in Vienna, that his estates were confiscated by the sentence which condemned him to the Spielberg. He had committed no offence against the state, was accused of none, much less convicted.—The court's sentence was, that the administration of his estate should be committed to counsellor Kempf and baron Peyaczewitz, who were selected by himself, and the accounts of his stewards and farmers were to be sent him yearly. He continued, till his death, to have the free and entire disposal of his property.

Although, before his death, he sent for his advocate, doctor Berger, and by him petitioned the empress she would issue the necessary orders to the governor of the Spielberg, to permit the entrance of witnesses, and all things necessary to make a legal will, it by no means follows that he petitioned her for permission to make this will. The case is too clear to admit of doubt. The royal commands were given, that he should enjoy all freedom of making his will. Permission was also given, that during his sickness, he might be removed to the capuchin convent, which was equal to liberty, but this he refused to accept.

Neither was his ability to make a will questioned. The advocate was only to request the queen's permission to supply some formalities, which had been neglected, when he purchased the lordships of Velika and Nustar, which petition was likewise granted. The royal mandate still exists, which commissioned the persons therein named as trustees to the estate and effects of Trenck, and this mandate runs thus :

“ Let the last will of Trenck be duly executed; let dis-

patch be used, and the heir protected in all his rights." Confiscation, therefore, had never been thought of, nor his power to make a will disputed.

I will now show how I have been deprived of this valuable inheritance, while I have been obliged to pay above sixty thousand florins to defray legacies he had left ; and when this narrative is read, it will no longer be affirmed, at Vienna, that, by the favours of the court, I inherited seventy-six thousand florins, or the lordship of Zwerbach from Trenck. I shall proceed to my proofs.

The father of baron Trenck, who died in the year 1743, governor of Leitschau in Hungary, named me in his will the successor of his son, should he die without heirs male.

This will was sent to be proved, according to form, at Vienna, after having been authenticated in the most legal manner in Hungary. The court called Hofkriegsrath, at Vienna, neglected to provide a curator, for the security of the next heir ; yet this could not annul my right of succession. When Trenck succeeded his father, he entered no protest to this his father's will ; therefore, dying without children, in the year 1749, my claim was indisputable. I was heir, had he made no will : and even in case of confiscation, my title to his father's estates still remained valid.

Trenck knew this but too well : he, as I have before related, was my worst enemy, and even attempted my life. I will, therefore, proceed to show the real intent of this his crafty testament.

Determined no longer to live in confinement, or to ask forgiveness, by which, it is well known, he might have obtained his freedom, having lost all hopes of reimbursing his losses, his avarice was reduced to despair. His desire of fame was unbounded ; and this could no way now be gratified but by having himself canonised for a saint, after spending his life in committing all the ravages of a pandour. Hence originated the following facts.

He knew I was the legal claimant to his father's estates.

His father had bought, with the family money, remitted from Prussia, the lordships of Prestowacz and Pleternitz in Sclavonia ; and he himself, during his father's life, and with his father's money, had purchased the lordship of Pakratz, for forty thousand florins ; this must therefore descend also to me, he having no more power to will this from me than he had the remainder of his paternal inheritance. The property he himself had gained was consigned to administrators ; but a hundred thousand florins had been expended in law-suits, and sixty-three suits continued actually pending against him in court. The legacies he bequeathed amounted to eighty thousand florins. These he saw could not be paid, should I claim nothing more than the paternal inheritance ; he therefore, to render me unfortunate after his death, craftily named me his universal heir, without mentioning his father's will, but endeavoured, by his mysterious death, and the following conditions, to enforce the execution of his own will.

First, I was to become a catholic.

Secondly, I was to serve only the house of Austria ; and,

Lastly, he made his whole estate, without excepting the paternal inheritance, a *fidei commissum*.

Hence arose all my misfortunes, as indeed was his intention ; for, but a short time before his death, he said to the governor, baron Kottulinsky, " I shall now die contented, since I have been able to trick my cousin, and render him wretched."

His death, believed in Vienna to be miraculous, happened after the following manner ; and by this he induced many weak people, who really believed him a saint, to further his views.

Three days before his death, while in perfect health, he desired the governor of the Spielberg would send for his confessor, for that St. Francis had revealed to him he should be removed into life everlasting on his birth day at twelve

o'clock. The capuchin was sent for, but the prediction laughed at.

The day, however, after the departure of his confessor, he said, "Praise be to God! my end approaches; my confessor is dead, and has appeared to me." Strange as it may seem, it was actually found to be true that the priest was dead. He now had all the officers of the garrison of Brunn assembled, tonsured his head like a capuchin, took the habit of the order, publicly confessed himself in a sermon of an hour's length, exhorted them all to holiness, acted the part of a most exemplary penitent, embraced all present, spoke with a smile of insignificance of all earthly possessions, took his leave, knelt down to prayers, slept calmly, rose, prayed again, and about eleven in the forenoon, October 4th, taking his watch in his hand, said, "Thanks be to my God! my last hour approaches." All laughed at such a farce from a man of such a character; yet they remarked that the left side of his face grew pale. He then leaned his arm on the table, prayed, and remained motionless, with his eyes closed. The clock struck twelve—no signs of life or motion could be discovered; they spoke to him, and found he was really dead.

The word miracle was echoed through the whole country, and the transmigration of the pandour Trenck, from earth to heaven, by St. Francis, proclaimed. The clue to this labyrinth of miracles, known only to me, is truly as follows:

He possessed the secret of what is called the *aqua toffana*, and had determined on death. His confessor had been entrusted with all his secrets, and with promissory notes, which he wished to invalidate. I am perfectly certain that he had returned a promissory note of a great prince, given for two hundred thousand florins, which has never been brought to account. The confessor, therefore, was to be provided for, that Trenck might not be betrayed, and a dose of poison was given him before he set off for Vienna: his death was

the consequence. He took similar means with himself, and thus he knew the hour of his exit : finding he could not become the first on earth, he wished to be adored as a saint in heaven. He knew he should work miracles when dead, because he ordered a chapel to be built, willed a perpetual mass, and bequeathed the capuchins sixty thousand florins.

Thus died this most extraordinary man, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, to whom Nature had denied none of her gifts ; who had been the scourge of Bavaria ; the terror of France ; and who had, with his supposed contemptible pandours, taken above six thousand Prussian prisoners. He lived a tyrant and enemy of men, and died a sanctified impostor.

Such was the state of affairs, as willed by Trenck, when I came to Vienna, in 1750, where I arrived with money and jewels to the amount of twenty thousand florins.

Instead of profiting by the wealth Trenck had acquired, I expended a hundred and twenty thousand florins of my own money, including what devolved to me from my uncle, his father, in the prosecution of his suits. Trenck had paid two hundred ducats to the tribunal of Vienna, in the year 1743, to procure its very reprehensible silence concerning a curator, to which I was sacrificed, as the new judges of this court refused to correct the error of their predecessors. Such are the proceedings of courts of justice in Vienna.

On my first audience, no one could be received more kindly than I was by the empress queen. She spoke of my deceased cousin with much emotion and esteem, promised me all grace and favour, and informed me of the particular recommendations she had received on my behalf, from count Bernes. Finding sixty-three causes hang over my head, in consequence of the inheritance of Trenck, to obtain justice in any one of which, at Vienna, would have employed the whole life of an honest man, I determined to renounce this inheritance, and claim only under the will, and as the heir of my uncle.

With this view I applied for, and obtained, a copy of that will, with which I personally appeared, and declared to the court that I renounced the inheritance of Francis Trenck, would undertake none of his suits, nor be responsible for his legacies, and require only his father's estates, according to the legal will, which I produced ; that is to say, the three lordships of Pakratz, Prestowacz, and Pletternitz, without chattels or personal effects. Nothing could be more just or incontrovertible than this claim. What was my astonishment, to be told, in open court, that her majesty had declared I must either wholly perform the articles of the will of Trenck, or be excluded the entire inheritance, and have nothing further to hope. What could be done ? I ventured to remonstrate, but the will of the court was determined and absolute ; I must become a Roman-catholic.

In this extremity I bribed a priest, who gave me a signed attestation, " That I had abjured the accursed heresy of Lutheranism." My religion, however, remained what it had ever been. General Bernes, about this time, returned from his embassy, and I related to him the lamentable state in which I found my affairs. He spoke to the empress in my behalf, and she promised every thing. He advised me to have patience, to perform all that was required of me, and to make myself responsible for depending suits. Some family concerns obliged him, as he informed me, to make a journey to Turin, but his return would be speedy, he would then take the management of my affairs upon himself, and ensure my good fortune in Austria. Bernes loved me as his son, and I had reason to hope, from his assurance, I should be largely remembered in his will ; which was the more probable, as he had neither child nor relations. He parted from me, like a father, with tears in his eyes ; but he had scarcely been absent six weeks before the news arrived of his death, which, if report may be credited, was effected by poison, administered by *a friend*. Ever the sport of fortune, thus

were my supporters snatched from me, at the very moment they became most necessary.

The same year was I, likewise, deprived by death of my friend and protector, field-marshal Königseck, governor of Vienna, when he had determined to interest himself in my behalf. I have been beloved by the greatest men Austria has produced ; but, unfortunately, have been persecuted by the chicanery of pettifoggers, fools, fanatics, and priests, who have deprived me of the favour of my empress, guiltless as I was of crime or deceit, and left my old age in poverty.

My ills were increased by a new accident. Soon after the departure of Bernes, the Prussian minister taking me aside, in the house of the Palatine envoy, M. Becker, proposed my return to Berlin, assured me the king had forgotten all that was past, was convinced of my innocence, that my good fortune would there be certain, and he pledged his honour to recover the inheritance of Trenck. I answered, the favour came too late ; I had suffered injustice too flagrant, in my own country, and that I would trust no prince on earth, whose will might annihilate all the rights of men. My good faith to the king had been too ill repaid ; my talents might gain me bread in any part of the world ; and I would not again subject myself to the danger of unmerited imprisonment.

His persuasions were strong, but ineffectual : “ My dear Trenck,” said he, “ God is my judge that my intentions are honest ; I will pledge myself that my sovereign will ensure your fortune : you do not know Vienna, you will lose all by the suits in which you are involved, and you will be persecuted, because you do not carry a rosary.”

How often have I repented I did not return to Berlin ! I should have escaped ten years’ imprisonment ; should have recovered the estates of Trenck ; should not have wasted the prime of life in the litigation of suits, and the writing of memorials ; and should have certainly been ranked among

the first men in my native country. Vienna was no place for a man who could not fawn and flatter ; yet here was I destined to remain six and thirty years, unrewarded, unemployed, and, through youth and age, to continue on the list of invalid majors.

Having rejected the proposition of the Prussian envoy, all my hopes in Vienna were ruined ; for Frederic, by his resident emissaries, knew how to effect whatever he pleased in foreign courts ; and determined that the Trenck, who would no longer serve, or confide in him, should, at least, find no opportunity of serving against him. I soon became painted to the empress as an arch heretic, who never would be faithful to the house of Austria, and only endeavoured to obtain the inheritance of Trenck, that he might devote himself to Prussia. This I shall hereafter prove, and display a scene that shall be the disgrace of many, by whom the empress was induced to harbour unjust suspicions of an able and honest man. I here stand erect and confident before the world, publish the truth, and take everlasting shame to myself, if any man on earth can prove me guilty of one treacherous thought. I owe no thanks ; for so far from having received favours, I have six and thirty years remained unable to obtain justice, though I have all the while been desirous of shedding my blood in defence of the monarchy where I have thus been treated. Till the year 1746, I was equally zealous and faithful to Prussia, yet my estates there, though confiscated, were liable to recovery ; in Hungary, on the contrary, the sentence of confiscation is irrevocable. This is a remarkable proof in favour of my honour, and my children's claims.

Surely no reader will be offended at these digressions : my mind is agitated, my feelings roused, remembering that my age and grey hairs deprive me of the sweet hope of, at length, vanquishing opposition, either by patience, or forcing justice, by eminent services, or noble efforts.

This my history will never reach a monarch's eye, con-

sequently no monarch, by perceiving, will be induced to protect truth. It may, indeed, be criticised by literati ; it will certainly be decried by my persecutors, who, through life, have been my false accusers, and will probably, therefore, be prohibited by the priests.—All Germany, however, will read, and posterity, perhaps, may pity, should my book escape the misfortune of being classed among improbable romances ; to which it is the more liable, because that the biographers of Frederic and Maria Theresa, for manifest reasons, have never so much as mentioned the name of Trenck.

Once more to my story : I was now obliged to declare myself heir, but always *cum reservatione juris mei* ; not as simply claiming under the will of Francis Trenck. I was obliged to take upon myself the management of the sixty-three suits ; and the expences attending upon any one of these are well known to those acquainted with Vienna. My situation may be imagined, when I inform the reader I only received, from the whole estate of Trenck, 3600 florins, in three years ; which were scarcely sufficient to defray the expences of new year's gifts to the solicitors and masters in chancery. How did I labour in stating and transcribing proofs for the court ! The money I possessed soon vanished. My Prussian relations supported me, and the countess Bestuchef sent me the four thousand rubles I had refused at Petersburg. I had also remittances from my faithful mistress in Prussia ; and, in addition, was obliged to borrow money, at the usurious rate of sixty per cent. Bewildered as I was, among lawyers and knaves, my ambition still prompted me to proceed, and all things are possible to labour and perseverance ; but my property was expended, and, at length, I could only obtain that the contested estates should be made a *fidei commissum*, or put under trust, whereby, though they were protected from being the further prey of others, I did not inherit them as mine. In this pursuit was my prime of life wasted, which might have been profitably and honourably spent.

In three years, however, I brought my sixty-three suits to a kind of conclusion ; the probabilities were, this could not have been effected in fifty. Exclusive of my assiduity, the means I took must not be told ; it is sufficient that I here learnt what judges were, and thus am enabled to describe them to others.

For a few ducats the president's servant used to admit me into a closet, where I could see every thing as perfectly as if I had myself been of the council. This often was useful, and taught me to prevent evil ; and often was I scarcely able to refrain bursting in upon this court.

Their appointed hour of meeting was nine in the morning, but they seldom assembled before eleven. The president then told his beads, and muttered his prayers. Some one got up and harangued, while the remainder, in pairs, amused themselves with talking instead of listening ; after which the news of the day became the common topic of conversation, and the council broke up, the court being first adjourned some three weeks, without coming to any determination.—This was called *Judicium delegatum in causis Trenckianis* ; and when, at last, they came to a conclusion, the sentence was such as I shall ever shudder at and abhor.

The real estates of Trenck consisted in the great Sclavonian manors, called the lordships of Pakratz, Prestowacz, and Pleternitz, which he had inherited from his father, and were the family property, together with Velika and Nustak, which he himself purchased : the annual income of these was 60,000 florins, and they contained more than two hundred villages and hamlets. The laws of Hungary require,

1st, That those who purchase estates shall obtain the *consensus regius* (royal consent).

2d, That the seller shall possess, and make over the right of property, together with that of transferring, or alienating ; and,

3dly, That the purchaser shall be a native born, or have bought his naturalisation.

In default of all, or any of these, the fiscus, on the death of the purchaser, takes possession, repaying the *summa emptitia*, or purchase-money, together with what can be shown to have been laid out in improvements, or the *summa inscriptitia*, the sum at which it stands in the fiscal register.

Without form, or notice, the Hungarian fiscal president, count Grassalkowitz, took possession of all the Trenck estates on his decease, in the name of the fiscus. The prize was great, not so much because of the estates themselves, as the personal property upon them. Trenck had sent loads of merchandize to his estates, of linen, ingots of gold, and silver, from Bavaria, Alsatia, and Silesia. He had a vast store-house of arms, and of saddles; also the great silver service of the emperor Charles VII. which he had brought from Munich, with the service of plate of the king of Prussia; and the personal property on these estates was affirmed considerably to exceed in value the estates themselves.

I was, not long since, informed, by one of the first generals, whose honour is undoubted, that several waggons were laden with these rich effects, and sent to Mihalefze. His testimony was indubitable; he knew the two pandours who were the confidants of Trenck, and the keepers of his treasures; and these, during the general plunder, each seized a bag of pearls, and fled to Turkey, where they became wealthy merchants. His rich studs of horses were taken, and the very cows driven off the farms. His stand of arms consisted of more than three thousand rare pieces. Trenck had affirmed he had sent linen to the value of fifty thousand florins, in chests, from Dannhausen and Gersdorf, in the county of Glatz, to his estates: the pillage was general, and when orders came to send all the property of Trenck, and deliver it to his universal heir, nothing remained that any person would accept. I have myself seen in a certain Hungarian nobleman's house, some valuable arms, which I

positively knew I had been robbed of ; and I bought at Esseck some silver plates, on which were the arms of Prussia, that had been sold by counsellor D—n, who had been empowered to take possession of these estates, and had thus rendered himself rich. Of this I procured an attestation, and proved the theft : I complained aloud at Vienna, but received an order, from the court, to be silent, under pain of displeasure, and also to go no more into Slavonia. The principal reason of my loss of the landed property in Hungary was my having dared to make inquiries concerning the personal, not one guinea of which was ever brought to account. I then proved my right to the family estates, left by my uncle, beyond all dispute, and also of those purchased by my cousin. The commissioners, appointed to inquire into these rights, even confirmed them ; yet, after they had been thus established, I received the following order from the court, in the hand of the empress herself : “ The president, count Grassalkowitz, takes it upon his conscience that the Slavonian estates do not descend to Trenck, *in natura* ; he must, therefore, receive the *summa emptitia et inscriptitia*, together with the money he can show to have been expended in improvements.”

And herewith ended my pleadings and my hopes. I had sacrificed my property, laboured through sixty-three inferior suits, and lost this great cause without a trial. I could have remained satisfied with the loss of the personal property : the booty of a soldier, like the wealth amassed by a minister, appears to me little better than a public robbery ; but the acquirements of my ancestors, my birth-right by descent, of these I could not be deprived without excessive cruelty. Oh ! patience ! patience !——Yet shall my children never become the footmen nor grooms of those who have robbed them of their inheritance ; and to them I bequeath my rights in all their power : nor shall any man prevent my crying aloud, so long as justice shall not be done.

The president, it is true, did not immediately possess

himself of the estates, but he took good care his friends should have them at such rates, that the sale of them did not bring the fiscal treasury 150,000 dollars, while I, in real and personal property, lost a million and a half ; nay, probably a sum equal to this in personal property alone.

The *summa inscriptitia et emptitia*, for all these great estates only amounted to 149,000, florins, and this was to be paid by the chamber ; but the president thought proper to deduct 10,000, on pretence the cattle had been driven off the estate of Pakratz ; and further, 36,000 more, under the shameful pretence that Trenck, to recruit his pandours, had drained the estates of 3600 vassals, who had never returned ; the estates, therefore, must make them good, at the rate of thirty florins per head, which would have amounted to 108,000 : but, with much difficulty, this sum was reduced, as above stated, to 36,000 florins ; each vassal reckoned at ten florins per head. Thus was I obliged, from the property of my family, to pay for 3600 men, who had gloriously died in war, in defence of the contested rights of the great Maria Theresa ; who had raised so many millions of contributions for her in the countries of her enemies ; who, sword in hand, had stormed and taken so many towns, and dispersed, or taken prisoners, so many thousands of her foes. Would this be believed by listening nations ?

All deductions made for legacies, fees, and formalities, there remained to me 63,000 florins, with which I purchased the lordship of Zwerbach ; and I was obliged to pay 6000 florins for my naturalisation. Thus, when the sums enumerated which I expended on the suits of Trenck, received from my friends at Berlin and Petersburg, it will be found that I cannot at least, have been a gainer by having been made the universal heir of the immensely rich Trenck. With regret I write these truths, in support of my children's claims, that they may not, in my grave, reproach me for having neglected the duty of a father.

I will here add a few particulars, which may afford the

reader matter for meditation, cause him to commiserate my fate, and give a picture of the manner in which the prosecution was carried on against Trenck.

One Schygrai, a silly kind of beggarly baron, who was treated as a buffoon, was invited, in the year 1743, to dine with baron Pejaczewitz, when Trenck happened to be present. The conversation happened to turn on a kind of brandy made in this country ; and Trenck jocularly said, he annually distilled this sort of brandy, from cow-dung, to the value of thirty thousand florins, Schygrai supposed him serious, and wished to learn the art, which Trenck promised to teach him. Pejaczewitz told him he could give him thirty thousand load of dung. " But where shall I get the wood ?" said Schygrai. " I will give you thirty thousand klafters," answered Trenck. The credulous baron, thinking himself very fortunate, desired written promises, which they gave him ; and that of Trenck ran thus : " I hereby permit and empower baron Schygrai to fell, gratis, in the forest of Tscherra Horra, thirty thousand klafters of wood. Witness my hand, Trenck."

Trenck was no sooner dead than the baron brought this note, and made application to the court. His attorney was the noted Bussy, and the court decreed the estates of Trenck should pay at the rate of one florin thirty kreutzers per klafter, or forty-five thousand florins, with all costs ; and an order was given to the administrators to pay the money.

Just at this time I arrived at Vienna, from Petersburg. Doctor Berger, the advocate of Trenck, told me the affair would admit of no delay. I hastened to the empress, and obtained an order to delay payment. An enquiry was instituted, and this forest of Tscherra Horra was found to be situated in Turkey. The absurdity and injustice were flagrant, and it was revoked. I cannot say how much of these forty-five thousand florins the baron had promised to the noble judge and the attorney. I only know that neither of them was punished. Had not some holidays, luckily, in-

tervened, or had the attorney expected my arrival, the money would have been paid, and an ineffectual attempt to obtain retribution would have been the consequence; as happened in many similar instances.

I have before mentioned the advertisement inviting all who had any demands or complaints against Trenck to appear, with the promise of a ducat a day; and it is here proper to add, that the sum of fifteen thousand florins was brought to account, and paid out of the estates of Trenck. For this shameful purpose some thousands of florins were paid, beside, to this species of claimants; and though, after examination, their pretensions all proved to be futile, and themselves were cast in damages, yet was none of this money ever refunded, or the false claimants punished. Among these the pretended daughter of general Schwerin received two thousand florins, notorious as was her character. Again: Trenck was accused of having appropriated the money of the regiment to his own use, and treated as if convicted. After his death a considerable demand was accordingly made. I happening, however, to meet with Ruckhardt, his quarter-master, he with asservations declared that, instead of being indebted to his regiment, his regiment was more than a hundred thousand florins indebted to him, advised me to get attestations from the captains, and assured me he himself would give in a clear statement of the regiment's accounts.

I followed his advice, hastened to the regiment, and obtained so many proofs, that the quarter-master of the regiment, who, in concurrence with the major, had, in reality, pocketed the money, was imprisoned, and put in irons. What became of the thief, or the false witness, afterward, I know not: I only know that nothing was refunded, that the quarter-master found protectors, detained the money, and, some years after this vile action, purchased a commission. One instance more.

Trenck, to the corps of infantry he commanded, added a

corps of hussars, which he raised, and provided with horses and accoutrements at his own expence. These hussars were disbanded after his death, and the horses and accoutrements sold by auction. My demand, on this account, was upwards of sixty thousand florins ; to which I received neither money nor reply. He had, also, expended a hundred thousand florins for the raising and equipping his three thousand pandours ; in consequence of which a signed agreement had been given him by government, that these hundred thousand florins should be repaid to his heir, or, he (the heir,) should receive the command of the regiment. The regiment, however, at his decease, was given to general Simschen ; and, as for the agreement, care was taken it should never come into my hands. Thus these hundred thousand florins were lost.

Yet it has been wickedly affirmed he was imprisoned in the Spielberg for having embezzled the regiment's money ; whereas, I would to God I was only in possession of the sums he expended on this regiment ; but he considered the regiment as his own, and, great as was his avarice, still greater was his desire of fame, and greater still his love for his empress, for whom he would gladly have yielded both property and life.

With respect to the money that was to have been repaid for improvement of the estates, I must add, these estates were bought at a time when the country had been left desolate by the Turks, and the reinstatement of such places as had fallen into their hands, and the erecting of farm-houses, mills, stocking them with horses, cattle, and seed corn, according to my poor estimate, could not amount to less than eighty thousand florins ; but I was forbidden to go into Slavonia, and the president offered, as an indemnification, four thousand florins.—Every body was astonished ; but he, with the utmost coolness, told me, I must either accept this or nothing. The hearers of this sentence cast their eyes up to heaven, and pitied me. I remonstrated, and thereby only

made the matter worse. Grief and anxiety occasioned me to take a journey into Italy, passing through Venice, Rome, and Florence.

On my return to Vienna, I, by a friendly interference in behalf of a woman, whose fears, rather than guilt, had brought her into danger, became suspected myself; and the very officious officers of the police had me imprisoned, as a coiner, without the least grounds for any such accusation, except their own surmises. I was detained, unheard, nine days; and when, having been heard, I had entirely justified myself, was again restored to liberty: public declaration was then made, in the Gazette, that the officers of the police had acted too precipitately.

This was the satisfaction granted; but this did not content me. I threatened the counsellor by whom my character had been so aspersed; and the empress, condescending to mediate, bestowed on me a captainship of cavalry, in the Cordova cuirassiers.

Such was the recompence I received for wounds so deep, and such the neglect into which I was thrown at Vienna. Discontent led me to join my regiment in Hungary.

Here I gained the applause of my colonel, count Bettoni, who himself told the empress, I, more than any other, had contributed to the forming of the regiment. It may well be imagined how a man like me, accustomed, as I had been, to the first company of the first courts, must pass my time among the Carpathian mountains, where neither society nor good books were to be found, nor knowledge, of which I was enamoured, improved. The conversation of count Bettoni, and the chace, together with the love of the general of the regiment, old field-marshal Cordova, were my only resources; the persecutions, neglect, and even contempt, I received at Vienna, were still the same.

In the year of 1754, and the month of March, my mother died in Prussia, and I requested permission of the court that held the inheritance of Trenck, as a *fidei commissum*, to

make a journey to Dantzic, to settle some family affairs with my brothers and sister, my estates being confiscated. This permission was granted, and thither I went in May, where I, once more, fell into the hands of the Prussians ; which forms the second great, and still more gloomy epocha in my life. All who read what follows will shudder, will commiserate him, who, feeling himself innocent, relates afflictions he has miserably encountered, and gloriously overcome.

I left Hungary, where I was in garrison for Dantzic, where I had desired my brothers and sister to meet me, that we might settle our affairs. My principal intent, however, was a journey to Petersburg, there to seek the advice and aid of my friends, for law and persecution were not yet ended at Vienna ; and my captain's pay, and small income, were scarcely sufficient to defray charges of attornies and counsellors.

It is here most worthy of remark, that I was told, by prince Ferdinand of Brunswic, governor of Magdeburg, he had received orders to prepare my prison at Magdeburg before I set out from Hungary.

Nay more, it had been written, from Vienna to Berlin, that the king must beware of Trenck, for that he would be at Dantzic at the time when the king was to visit his camp in Prussia.

What thing more vile, what contrivance more abominable, could the wickedest wretch on earth find to banish a man his country, that he might securely enjoy the property of which the other had been robbed !—That this was done, I have living witnesses in his highness prince Ferdinand of Brunswic, and the Berlin ministry ; from whose mouths I learned this artifice of villainy. It is the more necessary to establish this truth, because that no one can comprehend why the *Great Frederic* should have proceeded against me in a manner so cruel as, when it comes to be related, must raise

the indignation of the just, and move hearts of iron to commiserate.

Men so vile, so wicked, as I have described them, in conjunction with one Weingarten, secretary to count Puebla, then Austrian minister at Berlin, have brought on me these my misfortunes.

This was the Weingarten who, as is now well known, betrayed all the secrets of the Austrian court to Frederic, who at length was discovered in the year 1756, and who, when the war broke out, remained in the service of Prussia. This same Weingarten, also, not only caused my wretchedness, but my sister's ruin and death; as he likewise did the punishment and death of three innocent men; which will hereafter be shown.

It is an incontrovertible truth that I was betrayed and sold by men in Vienna, whose interest it was that I should be eternally silenced.

I was immediately visited, by my brothers and sister, on my arrival at Dantzic, where we lived happy in each other's company, during a fortnight; and an amicable partition was made of my mother's effects: my sister perfectly justified herself concerning the manner in which I was obliged to fly from her house, in the year 1746: our parting was kind, and as brother and sister ought to part.

Our only acquaintance in Dantzic was the Austrian resident, M. Abramson, to whom I brought letters of recommendation from Vienna, and whose reception of us was polite even to extravagance.

This Abramson was a Prussian born, and had never seen Vienna, but obtained his then office by the recommendation of count Bestuchef, without security for his good conduct, or proof of his good morals, heart, or head. He was in close connexion with the Prussian resident, Reimer; and was made the instrument of my ruin.

Scarcely had my brothers and sister departed, before I determined to make a voyage by sea to Russia. Abramson

contrived a thousand artifices, by which he detained me a week longer in Dantzic, that he, in conjunction with Reimer, might make the necessary preparations.

The king of Prussia had demanded that the magistrates of Dantzic should deliver me up ; but this could not be done without offending the imperial court, I being a commissioned officer in that service, with proper passports : it was therefore probable that this negotiation required letters should pass and repass, and for this reason, Abramson was employed to detain me some days longer, till, by the last letters from Berlin, the magistrates of Dantzic were induced to violate public safety, and the laws of nations. Abramson I considered as my best friend, and my person as in perfect security ; he had therefore no difficulty in persuading me to stay.

The day of supposed departure, on board a Swedish ship for Riga, approached ; and the deceitful Abramson promised me to send one of his servants to the port, to know the hour. At four in the afternoon he told me he had himself spoken to the captain, who said he should not sail till the next day ; adding that he, Abramson, would expect me to breakfast, and would then accompany me to the vessel. I felt a secret inquietude, which made me desirous of leaving Dantzic, and immediately to send all my baggage, and sleep on board. Abramson prevented me, dragged me almost forcibly along with him, telling me he had much company, and that I must absolutely dine and sup at his house : accordingly I did not return to my inn till eleven at night.

I was but just in bed, when I heard a knocking at my door, which was not shut, and two of the city magistrates, with twenty grenadiers, entered my chamber, and surrounded my bed so suddenly that I had not time to take to my arms and defend myself. My three servants had been secured ; and I was told that the most worthy magistracy of Dantzic was obliged to deliver me up, as a delinquent, to his majesty the king of Prussia.

What were my feelings at seeing myself thus betrayed !— They silently conducted me to the city prison, where I remained twenty-four hours. About noon Abramson came to visit me, affected to be infinitely concerned and enraged, and affirmed he had strongly protested against the illegality of this proceeding to the magistracy, as I was actually in the Austrian service ; but that they had answered him, the court of Vienna had afforded them a precedent, for that, in 1752, they had done the same by the two sons of the burgomaster Ruttenberg of Dantzic, and that, therefore, they were justified in making reprisal ; that, likewise, they durst not refuse the most earnest request, accompanied with threats, of the king of Prussia.

Their plea of retaliation originated as follows : There was a kind of club at Vienna, the members of which were seized for having committed the utmost extravagance and debauchery ; two of whom were the sons of the burgomaster Ruttenberg, and who were sentenced to the pillory. Great sums were offered, by the father, to avoid this public disgrace, but ineffectually ; they were punished ; their punishment was legal, and had no similarity whatever to my case, nor could it any way justly give pretence of reprisal.

Abramson, who had in reality entered no protest whatever, but rather excited the magistracy, and acted in concert with Reimer, advised me to put my writings and other valuable effects into his hands, otherwise they would be seized. He knew I had received, in letters of exchange, from my brothers and sister, about seven thousand florins ; and these I gave him, but kept my ring, worth about four thousand and some sixty guineas, which I had in my purse. He then embraced me, declared nothing should be neglected to effect my immediate deliverance, that even he would raise the populace for that purpose, that I could not be given up to the Prussians in less than a week, the magistracy being still undetermined in an affair so serious ; and he left me shed-

ding abundance of crocodile tears, like the most affectionate of friends.

The next night two magistrates, with their posse, came to my prison, attended by resident Reimer, a Prussian officer, and under-officers ; and into their hands I was delivered.—The pillage instantly began : Reimer tore off my ring, seized my watch, snuff-box, and all I had, not so much as sending me a coat, or shirt, from my effects ; after which they put me into a close coach, with three Prussians. The Dantzic guard accompanied the carriage to the city gate, that was opened to let me pass, after which the Dantzic dragoons escorted me as far as Lauenburg, in Pomerania.

I have forgotten the date of this miserable day ; but, to the best of my memory, it must have been in the beginning of June. Thirty Prussian hussars, commanded by a lieutenant, relieved the dragoons at Lauenburg ; and thus was I escorted, from garrison to garrison till I arrived at Berlin.

Hence it was evidently falsely affirmed, by the magistracy of Dantzic, and the conspirator Abramson, who wrote in his own excuse to Vienna, that my seizure must be attributed wholly to my own imprudence, and that I had exposed myself to this arrest by going without the city gates, where I was taken and carried off : nor is it less astonishing that the court of Vienna should not have demanded satisfaction for the treachery of the Dantzickers toward an Austrian officer. I have incontrovertibly proved this treachery, after I had regained my liberty. Abramson, indeed, they could not punish ; for during my imprisonment he had quitted the Austrian for the Prussian service, where he had gradually become so contemptible, that, in the year 1764, when I was released from my imprisonment, he was himself imprisoned in the house of correction ; and his wife, lately so rich, was obliged to beg her bread. Thus have I generally lived to see the fall of my betrayers ; and thus have I found that, without indulging personal revenge, virtue and fortitude must at length triumph over the calumniator and the despot.

This truth will be further proved hereafter ; nor can I behold, unmoved, the open shame in which my persecutors live, and how they tremble in my presence, their wicked deeds now being known to the world.—Nay, monarchs may yet punish their perfidy :— Yet not so ! May they rather die in possession of wealth they have torn from me ! I only wish the pity and respect of the virtuous and the wise.

But, though Austria has never resented the affront committed on the person of an officer in its service, still have I a claim on the city of Dantzic, where I was thus treacherously delivered up, for the effects I there was robbed of the amount of which is between eleven and twelve thousand florins. This is a case too clear to require argument ; and the publication of this history will make it known to the world. This claim also, among others I leave to the children of an unfortunate father.

Enough of digression ; let us attend to the remarkable events which happened on this dismal journey to Berlin. I was escorted from garrison to garrison, which were distant from each other, two, three, or, at most, five miles : wherever I came I found compassion and respect. The detachment of hussars only attended me two days : it consisted of twelve men, and an officer, who rode with me in the carriage.

The fourth day I arrived at —, where the duke of Wirtemberg, father of the present grand-duchess of Russia, was commander, and where his regiment was in quarters. The duke conversed with me, was much moved, invited me to dine, and detained me all the day ; where I was not treated as a prisoner. I so far gained his esteem, that I was allowed to remain there the next day : the chief persons of the place were assembled, and the duchess, whom he had lately married, testified every mark of pity and esteem. I staid dinner with him also on the third day ; after which I departed in an open carriage, without escort, attended only by a lieutenant of his regiment.

I must relate this event circumstantially ; for it not only

proves the just and noble character of the duke, but likewise that there are moments in which the brave may appear cowards, the clear-sighted blind, and the wise foolish ; nay, one might almost be led to conclude, from this, that my imprisonment at Magdeburg was the consequence of predestination, since I remained rivetted in stupor, in despite of suggestions, forebodings, and favourable opportunities. Who but must be astonished, having read the daring efforts I made at Glatz, at this strange insensibility now in the very crisis of my fate ? I afterward was convinced it was the intention of the noble-minded duke that I should escape, and that he must have given particular orders to the successive officers. He would probably have willingly subjected himself to the reprimands of Frederic, if I would have taken to flight. The journey, through the places where his regiment was stationed, continued five days ; and I everywhere passed the evenings in the company of the officers, the kindness of whom was unbounded. I slept in their quarters without centinel, and travelled in their carriages without other guard than a single officer in the carriage. In various places the high road was not more than two, and sometimes one mile from the frontier-road, therefore nothing could have been easier than to have escaped ; yet did the same Trenck, who in Glatz had cut his way through thirty men to obtain his freedom,—that Trenck, who had never been acquainted with fear, now remain four days bewildered, and unable to come to any determination.

In a small garrison town I lodged in the house of a captain of cavalry, and continually was treated by him with every mark of friendship. After dinner, he rode at the head of his squadron to water the horse, unsaddled. I remained alone in the house ; entered the stable, saw three remaining horses, with saddles and bridles : in my chamber was a sword, and a pair of pistols. I had but to mount one of the horses, and fly at the opposite gate. I meditated on the project, and almost resolved to put it in exe-

cution, but presently became undetermined by some secret impulse. The captain returned sometime after, and appeared surprised to find me still there. The next day he accompanied me alone in his carriage; we came to a forest; he saw some champignons, stopped, asked me to alight, and help him to gather them; he strayed more than a hundred paces from me, and gave me an entire liberty to fly; yet, notwithstanding all this, I voluntarily returned, suffering myself to be led, like a sheep to the slaughter.

I was treated so well, and escorted with so much negligence, that I fell into a gross error. Perceiving they conveyed me straight to Berlin, I imagined the king wished to question me concerning the plan formed for the war, which was then on the point of breaking out. This plan I perfectly knew, the secret correspondence of Bestuchef having all passed through my hands, which circumstance was much better known at Berlin than at Vienna. Confirmed in this opinion, and far from imagining the fate that awaited me, I remained irresolute, insensible, and blind to danger. Alas, how short was this hope! How quickly was it succeeded by despair, when, after four days' march, I quitted the district under the command of the duke of Wirtemberg, and was delivered up to the first garrison of infantry at Coslin! The last of the Wirtemberg officers, when taking leave of me, appeared to be greatly affected; and from this moment, till I came to Berlin, I was put under a strong escort, and the given orders were rigorously observed.

Arrived here, I was lodged over the grand guard-house, with two centinels in my chamber, and one at the door. The king was at Potsdam, and here I remained three days; on the third, some staff officers made their appearance, seated themselves at a table, and put the following questions to me:

First, What was my business at Dantzic?

Secondly, Whether I was acquainted with M. Goltz, the Prussian ambassador in Russia?

Thirdly, Who was concerned with me in the conspiracy at Dantzic ?

When I perceived their intention, by these interrogations, I absolutely refused to reply, only saying I had been imprisoned in the fortress of Glatz, without hearing, or trial, by court-martial ; that, availing myself of the laws of nature, I had, by my own exertions, procured my liberty, and that I was now a captain of cavalry in the Imperial service ; that I demanded a legal trial for my first unknown offence, after which I engaged to answer all interrogatories, and prove my innocence ; but that, at present, being accused of new crimes, without a hearing concerning my former punishment, the procedure was illegal. I was told they had no orders concerning this, and I remained dumb to all further questions.

They wrote, some two hours, God knows what ! A carriage came up ; I was strictly searched, to find whether I had any weapons : thirteen or fourteen ducats, which I had concealed, were taken from me, and I was conducted, under a strong escort, through Spandau to Magdeburg. The officer here delivered me up to the captain of the guard at the citadel : the town major came, and brought me to the dungeon, expressly prepared for me ; a small picture of the countess of Bestuchef, set with diamonds, which I had kept concealed in my bosom, was now taken from me ; the door was shut, and here was I left.

My dungeon was in a casemate, the fore part of which, six feet wide, and ten feet long, was divided by a party wall. In the inner wall were two doors, and a third at the entrance of the casemate itself. The window in the seven-feet-thick wall was so situated, that, though I had light, I could see neither heaven nor earth ; I could only see the roof of the magazine : within and without this window were iron bars, and in the space between an iron grating, so close and

so situated, by the rising of the walls, that it was impossible I should see any person without the prison, or that any person should see me. On the outside was a wooden palisado, six feet from the wall, by which the centinels were prevented from conveying any thing to me. I had a mattrass, and a bedstead, but which was immoveably ironed to the floor, so that it was impossible I should drag it and stand up to the window ; beside the door was a small iron stove and a night-table, in like manner fixed to the floor. I was not yet put in irons, and my allowance was a pound and half per day ammunition bread and a jug of water.

From my youth I had always had a good appetite, and my bread was so mouldy I could scarcely at first eat the half of it. This was the consequence of Major Rieding's avarice, who endeavoured to profit even by this, so great was the number of unfortunate prisoners ; therefore, it is impossible I should describe to my readers the excess of tortures, that, during eleven months, I felt from ravenous hunger. I could easily every day have devoured six pounds of bread ; and every twenty-four hours after, having received and swallowed my small portion, I continued as hungry as before I began, yet must wait another twenty-four hours for a new morsel. How willingly would I have signed a bill of exchange for a thousand ducats, on my property at Vienna, only to have satiated my hunger on dry bread ! For, so extreme was it, that, scarcely had I dropt into a sweet sleep, before I dreamed I was feasting at some table luxuriously loaded, where, eating like a glutton, the whole company were astonished to see me, while my imagination was heated by the sensation of the famine. Awakened by the pains of hunger, the dishes vanished, and nothing remained but the reality of my distress ; the cravings of nature were but inflamed, my tortures prevented sleep, and, looking into futurity, the cruelty of my fate suffered, if possible, increase, from imagining that the prolongation of pangs, like these was insupportable. God preserve every honest man from sufferings

like mine ! They were not to be endured by the villain most obdurate. Many have fasted three days, many have suffered want for a week, or more, but certainly no one, beside myself, ever endured it in the same excess for eleven months. Some have supposed that to eat little might become habitual, but I have experienced the contrary. My hunger increased every day, and, of all the trials of fortitude my whole life has afforded, this, of eleven months, was the most bitter.

Petitions, remonstrances, were of no avail ; the answer was—" We must give no more ; such is the king's command." The governor-general Borck, born the enemy of man, replied, when I entreated, at least, to have my fill of bread, " You have feasted often enough out of the service of plate taken from the king, by Trenck, at the battle of Sorrau ; you must now eat ammunition-bread in your dirty kennel. Your empress makes no allowance for your maintenance, and you are unworthy of the bread you eat, or the trouble taken about you." Judge, reader, what pangs such insolence, added to such sufferings, must inflict. Judge what were my thoughts, foreseeing, as I did, an endless duration to this imprisonment and these torments.

My three doors were kept ever shut, and I was left to such meditations as such feelings, and such hopes, might inspire. Daily, about noon, once in twenty-four hours, my pittance of bread and water was brought. The keys of all the doors were kept by the governor ; the inner door was not opened, but my bread and water were delivered through an aperture. The prison-doors were opened only once a week, on a Wednesday, when the governor and town-major, my hole having been first cleaned, paid their visit.

Having remained thus two months, and observed this method was invariable, I began to execute a project I had formed, of the possibility of which I was convinced.

Where the night-table and stove stood, the floor was bricked, and this paving extended to the wall that separated my casemate from the adjoining one, in which was no

prisoner. My window was only guarded by a single centinel; I therefore soon found among those who successively relieved guard two kind-hearted fellows, who described to me the situation of my prison; hence I perceived I might effect my escape, could I but penetrate into the adjoining casemate, the door of which was not shut. Provided I had a friend, and a boat waiting for me at the Elbe, or, could I swim across that river, the confines of Saxony were but a mile distant.

To describe my plan at length would lead to prolixity, yet I must enumerate some of its circumstances, as it was remarkably intricate, and of gigantic labour.

I worked through the iron, eighteen inches long, by which the night-table was fastened, and broke off the clinchings of the nails, but preserved their heads, that I might put them again in their places, and all might appear secure to my weekly visitors. This procured me tools to raise up the brick floor, under which I found earth. My first attempt was to work a hole through the wall, seven feet thick, behind, and concealed by the night-table. The first layer was of brick. I afterwards came to large hewn stones. I endeavoured accurately to number and remember the bricks, both of the flooring and the wall, so that I might replace them, and all might appear safe. This having accomplished, I proceeded.

The day preceding visitation, all was carefully replaced, and the intervening mortar as carefully preserved; the whole had, probably, been whitewashed a hundred times; and, that I might fill up all remaining interstices, I pounded the white stuff this afforded, wetted it, and made a brush of my hair, then applied this plaster, washed it over, that the colour might be uniform, and afterwards stripped myself, and sat, with my naked body against the place, by the heat of which it was dried.

While labouring, I placed the stones and bricks upon my bedstead, and, had they taken the precaution to come at any

other time in the week, the stated Wednesday excepted, I had inevitably been discovered ; but as no such ill accident befel me, in six months my Herculean labours gave me a prospect of success.

Means were to be found to remove the rubbish from my prison ; all of which, in a wall so thick, it was impossible to replace : mortar and stone could not be removed. I therefore took the earth, scattered it about my chamber, and ground it under my feet the whole day, till I had reduced it to dust ; this dust I strewed in the aperture of my window, making use of the loosened night-table to stand upon. I tied splinters from my bedstead together, with ravelled yarn of an old stocking, and to this affixed a tuft of my hair. I worked a large hole under the middle grating, which could not be seen when standing on the ground, and through this I pushed my dust with the tool I had prepared to the outer window, then, waiting till the wind should happen to rise, during the night I brushed it away, it was blown off, and no appearance remained on the outside. By this single expedient I rid myself of at least three hundred weight of earth, and thus made room to continue my labours : yet this being still insufficient, I had recourse to another artifice, which was, to knead up the earth in the form of sausages, to resemble the human faces : these I dried, and, when the prisoner came to clean my dungeon, hastily tossed them into the night-table, and thus disencumbered myself of a pound or two more of earth each week. I further made little balls, and, when the centinel was walking, blew them, through a paper tube, out of the window. Into the empty space I put my mortar and stones, and worked on successfully.

I cannot however describe my difficulties, after having penetrated about two feet into the hewn stone. My tools were the irons I had dug out, which fastened my bedstead and night-table. A compassionate soldier also gave me an old iron ramrod, and a soldier's sheath-knife, which did me

excellent service ; more especially the latter, as I shall presently more fully show. With these two I cut splinters from my bedstead, which aided me to pick the mortar from the interstices of the stone : yet the labour of penetrating through the seven-feet wall was incredible : the building was ancient, and the mortar occasionally quite petrified, so that the whole stone was obliged to be reduced to dust. After continuing to do my work, unremittingly, for six months, I at length approached the accomplishment of my hopes, as I knew, by coming to the facing of brick, which now was only between me and the adjoining casemate.

Meantime I found opportunity to speak to some of the centinels ; among whom was an old grenadier, called Gefhardt, whom I here name, because he displayed qualities of the greatest and most noble kind. From him I learned the precise situation of my prison, and every circumstance that might best conduce to my escape.

Nothing was wanting but money to buy a boat, and crossing the Elbe with Gefhardt, to take refuge in Saxony. By Gefhardt's means I became acquainted with a kind-hearted girl, a Jewess, and a native of Dessau, Esther Heymannin by name, and whose father had been ten years in prison. This good, compassionate maiden, whom I had never seen, won over two other grenadiers, who gave her an opportunity of speaking to me every time they stood centinel. By tying my splinters together, I made a stick long enough to reach beyond the palisadoes that were before my window, and thus obtained paper, another knife and a file.

I now wrote to my sister, the wife of the before-mentioned only son of general Waldow, described my situation, and entreated her to remit three hundred rix-dollars to the Jewess ; hoping, by this means, I might escape from my prison. I wrote another affecting letter to count Puebla the Austrian ambassador at Berlin, in which was inclosed a draft for a thousand florins on my effects at Vienna, desiring him to remit these to the Jewess, having promised her that

sum as a reward for her fidelity. She was to bring the three hundred rix-dollars my sister should send to me, and take measures, with the grenadiers, to facilitate my flight, which nothing seemed able to prevent, I having the power either to break into the casemate, or, aided by the grenadiers and the Jewess, to cut the locks from the doors, and that way escape from my dungeon. The letters were open, I being obliged to roll them round the stick to convey them to Esther.

The faithful girl diligently proceeded to Berlin, where she arrived safe, and immediately spoke to count Puebla. The count gave her the kindest reception, received the letter, with the letter of exchange, and bade her go and speak to Weingarten, the secretary of the embassy, and act entirely as he should direct. She was received by Weingarten in the most friendly manner, who, by his questions, drew from her the whole secret, and our intended plan of flight, aided by the two grenadiers ; and also that she had a letter for my sister, which she must carry to Hammer, near Custrin. He asked to see this letter, read it, told her to proceed on her journey, gave her two ducats to bear her expences, ordered her to come to him on her return, said that, during this interval, he would endeavour to obtain her the thousand florins for my draft, and would then give her further instruction.

Esther cheerfully departed for Hammer, where my sister, then a widow, and no longer, as in 1746, in dread of her husband, joyful to hear I was still living, immediately gave her the three hundred rix-dollars, exhorting her to exert every possible means to obtain my deliverance. Esther hastened back, with the letter from my sister to me, to Berlin, and told all that had passed to Weingarten, who read the letter, and inquired the names of the two grenadiers. He told her the thousand florins from Vienna was not yet come ; but gave her twelve ducats, bade her hasten back to Magdeburg, to carry me all this good news, and then return to Berlin, where he would pay her the thousand florins.

Esther came to Magdeburg, went immediately to the citadel, and, most luckily, met the wife of one of the grenadiers, who told her that her husband and his comrade had been taken, and put in irons the day before. Esther had quickness of perception, and suspected we had been betrayed; she therefore instantly again began her travels, and happily came safe to Dessau.

Here I must interrupt my narrative, that I may explain this infernal enigma to my readers; an account of which I received after I had obtained my freedom, and still possess, in the hand-writing of this Jewess. Weingarten, as was afterwards discovered, was a traitor, and too much trusted by count Puebla; he being a spy in the pay of Prussia, and one who had revealed to the court of Berlin not only the secrets of the imperial embassy, but also the whole plan of the projected war. For this reason, he afterward, when war broke out, remained at Berlin in the Prussian service. His reason for betraying me was that he might secure the thousand florins which I had drawn for on Vienna; for the receipt of the 24th of May, 1755, attests that the sum was paid, by the administrators of my effects, to count Puebla, and has since been brought to account; nor can I believe that Weingarten did not appropriate this sum to himself, since I cannot be persuaded the ambassador would commit such an action, although the receipt is in his hand-writing, as may easily be demonstrated, it being now in my possession. Thus did Weingarten, that he might detain a thousand florins with impunity, bring new evils upon me and upon my sister, which occasioned her premature death; caused one grenadier to run the gauntlet three successive days, and another to be hung.

Esther alone escaped, and since gave me an elucidation of the whole affair. The report at Magdeburg was that a Jewess had obtained money from my sister, and bribed two grenadiers; and that one of these had trusted, and been betrayed by his comrade. Indeed, what other story could

be told at Magdeburg, or how could it be known I had been betrayed to the Prussian ministry by the imperial secretary? The truth, however, is as I have stated; my account-book exists, and the Jewess is still alive.

Her poor imprisoned father was punished with more than a hundred blows, to make him declare whether his daughter had intrusted him with the plot, or if he knew whither she was fled, and miserably died in fetters. Such was the mischief occasioned by a rascal! And who might be blamed but the imprudent count Puebla?

In the year 1766 the Jewess demanded of me a thousand florins; and I wrote to count Puebla, that, having his receipt for the sum, which never had been repaid, I begged it might be restored. He received my agent with rudeness, returned no answer, and seemed to trouble himself little concerning my loss. Whether the heirs of the count be, or be not, indebted to me these thousand florins, and the interest, I leave the world to determine. Thrice have I been betrayed at Vienna, and sold to Berlin, like Joseph to the Egyptians. My history proves the origin of my misfortunes was the persuasion that residents, envoys, and ambassadors must be men of known worth and honesty, and not the vilest of rascals and miscreants. But, alas! the effects and money they have robbed me of have never been restored; and for the miseries they have brought upon me they could not be recompensed by the wealth of any or all the monarchs on earth. Estates they may, but truth they cannot, confiscate; and of the villainy of Abramson and Weingarten I have documents and proofs that no court of justice could disannul.—Stop, reader, if thou hast a heart, and in that heart compassion! Stop, and imagine what my sensations are, while I remember and recount a part only of the injustice that has been done me, a part only of the tyranny I have endured! By this last act of treachery of Weingarten, was I held in chains, the most horrible, for nine succeeding years! By him was an innocent man brought to the gal-

lows ! By him, too, my sister, my beloved, my unfortunate sister, was obliged to build a dungeon for me, at her own expence ! beside being amerced in a fine, the extent of which I never could learn. Her goods were plundered, her estates made a desert, her children fell into extreme poverty, and she herself expired, in her thirty-third year, the victim of cruelty, persecution, her brother's misfortunes, and the treachery of the imperial embassy !

Blessed shade of a beloved sister !—The sacrifice of my adverse and dreadful fate ! Thee could I never avenge ! Thee could the blood of Weingarten never appease ! No asylum, however sacred, should have secured him, had he not sought that last of asylums for human wickedness and human woes, the grave ! To thee do I dedicate these few pages, a tribute of thankfulness ; and, if future rewards there are, may the brightest of these rewards be thine ! For us, not for ours, may rewards be expected from monarchs, who in apathy have beheld our mortal sufferings. Rest, noble soul, murdered, though thou wert, by the enemies of thy brother ! Again my blood boils, again the tears roll down my cheeks, when I remember thee, thy sufferings in my cause, and thy untimely end ! I knew it not—I sought to thank thee—I found thee in the grave—I would have made retribution to thy children ; but unjust, iron-hearted princes had deprived me of the power.—Can the virtuous heart conceive affliction more cruel ? My own ills I would have endured with magnanimity ; but thine are wrongs I have neither the power to forget nor heal.

Enough of this——

The worthy emperor, Francis I. shed tears, when I afterward had the honour of relating to him, in person, my past miseries ; I beheld them flow, and gratitude threw me at his feet. His emotion was so great, that he tore himself away ! I left the palace with all that enthusiasm of soul which such a scene must inspire.

He probably would have done more than pitied me, but

his death soon followed. I relate this incident to convince posterity that Francis I. possessed a heart worthy an emperor, worthy of a man. In the knowledge I have had of monarchs, he stands alone. Frederic and Theresa both died without doing me justice; I am now too old, too proud, and have too much apathy, to expect it from their successors. Petition I will not, knowing my rights; and justice from courts of law, however evident my claims, were, in these courts, vain indeed to expect.—Lawyers and advocates I know but too well, and an army to support my rights I have not.

What heart that can feel but will pardon me these digressions! At the exact and simple recital of facts like these, the whole man must be roused, and the philosopher himself shudder.

Once more.—I heard nothing of what had happened for some days; at length, however, it was the honest Gefhardt's turn to mount guard; but the posts being doubled, and two additional grenadiers placed before my door, explanation was exceedingly difficult. He, however, in spite of precaution, found means to inform me of what had happened to his two unfortunate comrades.

The king came to a review at Magdeburg, when he visited the Star-Fort, and commanded a new cell to be immediately made, prescribing himself the kind of irons by which I was to be secured. The honest Gefhardt heard the officer say this cell was meant for me, and gave me notice of it; but assured me it could not be ready in less than a month. I therefore determined, as soon as possible, to complete my breach in the wall, and escape without the aid of any one. The thing was possible; for I had twisted the hair of my mattress into a rope, which I meant to tie to a cannon, and descend the rampart; after which I might swim across the Elbe, gain the Saxon frontiers, and thus safely escape.

On the 26th of May I had determined to break into the next casemate; but when I came to work at the bricks, I

found them so hard, and strongly cemented, that I was obliged to defer the labour to the following day. I left off, weary and spent, at day-break ; and should any one enter my dungeon, they must infallibly discover the breach. How dreadful is the destiny by which, through life, I have been persecuted, and which has continually plunged me headlong into calamity, when I imagined happiness was at hand !

The 27th of May was a cruel day in the history of my life. My cell in the Star-Fort had been finished sooner than Gefhardt had supposed ; and at night, when I was preparing to fly, I heard a carriage stop before my prison. Oh, God ! what was my terror ! what were the horrors of this moment of despair ! The locks and bolts resounded, the doors flew open, and the last of my poor remaining resources was to conceal my knife. The town-major, the major of the day, and a captain entered ; I saw them by the light of their two lanterns. The only words they spoke were, “ Dress yourself ;” which was immediately done. I still wore the uniform of the regiment of Cordova. Irons were given me, which I was obliged myself to fasten on my wrists and ancles : the town-major tied a bandage over my eyes, and, taking me under the arm, they thus conducted me to the carriage. It was necessary to pass through the city to arrive at the Star-Fort : all was silent, except the noise of the escort ; but when we entered Magdeburg, I heard the people running, who were crowding together to obtain a sight of me. Their curiosity was raised, by the report that I was going to be beheaded. That I was executed on this occasion, in the Star-Fort, after having been conducted blind-fold through the city, has since been both affirmed and written ; and the officers had then orders to propagate this error, that the world might remain in utter ignorance concerning me. I indeed knew otherwise, though I affected not to have this knowledge : and, as I was not gagged, I behaved as if I expected death, reproached my conductors in language that even made them shudder, and

painted their king in his true colours, as one who, unheard, had condemned an innocent subject by a despotic exertion of power.

My fortitude was admired, at the moment when it was supposed I thought myself leading to execution. No one replied, but their sighs intimated their compassion : certain it is, few Prussians willingly execute such commands. The carriage at length stopped, and I was brought into my new cell. The bandage was taken from my eyes. The dungeon was lighted by a few torches. God of heaven !—what were my feelings, when I beheld the whole floor covered with chains, a fire-pan, and two grim men standing with their smith-hammers ?

* * * * *

To work went these engines of despotism !—Enormous chains were fixed to my ankle at one end, and at the other to a ring which was incorporated in the wall. This ring was three feet from the ground, and only allowed me to move about two or three feet to the right and left. They next rivetted another huge iron ring, of a hand's breadth, round my naked body ; to which hung a chain fixed into an iron bar, as thick as a man's arm. This bar was two feet in length, and at each end of it was a handcuff, as represented in the plate. The iron collar round my neck was not added till the year 1756.

* * * * *

No soul bade me good night—All retired in dreadful silence ;—and I heard the horrible grating of four doors, that were successively locked and bolted upon me !

Thus does man act by his fellow, knowing him to be innocent, having received the commands of another man so to act.

Oh God ! thou alone knowest how my heart, void as it was of guilt, beat at this moment. There sat I, destitute, alone, in thick darkness, upon the bare earth, with a weight of fetters insupportable to nature, thanking thee that these

cruel men had not discovered my knife, by which my miseries might yet find an end. Death is a last, certain refuge, that can, indeed, bid defiance to the rage of tyranny. What shall I say? How shall I make the reader feel as I then felt? How describe my despondency, and yet account for that latent impulse that withheld my hand on this fatal—this miserable night?

This misery I foresaw was not of short duration: I had heard of the wars that had lately broken out between Austria and Prussia. Patiently to wait their termination, amid sufferings and wretchedness such as mine, appeared impossible, and freedom even then was doubtful. Sad experience had I had then of Vienna, and well I knew that those, who had despoiled me of my property, most anxiously would endeavour to prevent my return.—Such were my meditations! Such my night thoughts! Day at length returned—But where was its splendor? Fled—I beheld it not—Yet was its glimmering obscurity sufficient to show me what was my dungeon.

In breadth it was about eight feet; in length, ten. Near me once more stood a night-table; in a corner was a seat, four bricks broad, on which I might sit, and recline against the wall. Opposite the ring to which I was fastened, the light was admitted through a semicircular aperture, one foot high, and two in diameter. This aperture ascended to the centre of the wall, which was six feet thick, and at the central part was a close iron grating, from which, outward, the aperture descended, and its two extremities were again secured by strong iron bars. My dungeon was built in the ditch of the fortification, and the aperture by which the light entered was so covered by the wall of the rampart, that, instead of finding immediate passage, the light only gained admission by reflection. This, considering the smallness of the aperture, and the impediments of grating and iron bars, must needs make the obscurity great, yet my eyes, in time, became so accustomed to this glimmering,

that I could see a mouse run. In winter, however, when the sun did not shine into the ditch, it was eternal night with me. Between the bars and the grating was a glass window, with a small central casement, which might be opened to admit air. My night-table was daily removed, and beside me stood a jug of water. The name of TRENCK was built in the wall, in red brick, and under my feet was a tomb-stone, with the name of TRENCK also cut on it, and carved with a death's head. The doors to my dungeon were double, of oak, two inches thick : without these was an open space or front cell, in which was a window, and this space was likewise shut in by double doors. The ditch, in which this dreadful den was built, was inclosed on both sides by palisadoes, twelve feet high, the key of the door of which was entrusted to the officer of the guard, it being the king's intention to prevent all possibility of speech or communication with the centinels. The only motion I had the power to make was that of jumping upward, or swinging my arms, to procure myself warmth. When more accustomed to these fetters, I was likewise capable of moving from side to side, about four feet, but this pained my shin-bones.

This cell had been finished with lime and plaster but eleven days, and every body supposed it would be impossible I should exist in these damps above a fortnight. I remained six months, continually immersed in water, that trickled upon me from the thick arches under which I was ; and I can safely affirm that, for the first three months, I was never dry ; yet did I continue in health. I was visited daily, at noon, after relieving guard, and the doors were then obliged to be left open for some minutes, otherwise the dampness of the air put out their candles.

This was my situation, and here I sat, destitute of friends, helplessly wretched, preyed on by all the torture of thought, that continually suggested the most gloomy, the most dreadful of images. My heart was not yet wholly turned to stone, my fortitude was sunken to despondency ; my dungeon was

the very cave of despair ; yet was my arm restrained, yet was this excess of misery endured.

How then may hope be wholly eradicated from the heart of man ! My fortitude after some time began to revive ; I glowed with the desire of convincing the world I was capable of suffering what man had never suffered before, perhaps of at last emerging from this load of wretchedness, triumphant over my enemies. So long and ardently did my fancy dwell on this picture, that my mind at length acquired a heroism which Socrates himself certainly never possessed. Age had benumbed his sense of pleasure, and he drank the poisonous draught with cool indifference ; I was young, inured to high hopes, yet now beholding deliverance impossible, or at an immense, a dreadful distance. Such too were the sufferings of soul and body, I could not hope they might be supported and live.

About noon my den was opened. Sorrow and compassion were painted on the countenances of my keepers. No one spoke : no one bade me good-morrow. Dreadful, indeed, was their arrival, for, unaccustomed to the monstrous bolts and bars, they were kept resounding a full half hour, before such soul-chilling, such hope-murdering impediments were removed. It was the voice of tyranny that thundered !

My night-table was taken out, a camp-bed, mattress, and blankets, were brought me ; a jug of water set down, and beside it an ammunition-loaf of six pounds weight. " That you may no more complain of hunger," said the town-major, " you shall have as much bread as you can eat." The door was shut, and I again left to my thoughts.

What a strange thing is that called happiness ! How shall I express my extreme joy, when, after eleven months of intolerable hunger, I was again indulged with a full feast of coarse ammunition-bread ! The fond lover never rushed more eagerly to the arms of his expecting bride, the famished tiger more ravenously on his prey, than I upon this loaf ; I ate, rested, surveyed the precious morsel, ate again, and

absolutely shed tears of pleasure——Breaking bit after bit, I had by evening devoured all my loaf.

Oh Nature ! what delight hast thou combined with the gratification of thy wants ! Remember this, ye who gorge, ye who rack invention to excite appetite, and which yet you cannot procure ; remember how simple are the means that will give a crust of mouldy bread a flavour more exquisite than all the spices of the East, or all the profusion of land or sea ; remember this, grow hungry, and indulge your sensuality.

Alas ! my enjoyment was of short duration. I soon found that excess is followed by pain and repentance. My fasting had weakened digestion, and rendered it inactive. My body swelled, my water-jug was emptied, cramps, cholics, and, at length, inordinate thirst racked me all the night. I began to pour curses on those who seemed to refine on torture, and, after starving me so long, to invite me to gluttony. Could I not have reclined on my bed, I should indeed have been driven, this night, to desperation : yet even this was but a partial relief, for, not yet accustomed to my enormous fetters, I could not extend myself in them in the same manner I was afterwards taught to do by habit. I dragged them, however, so together, as to enable me to sit down on the bare mattress. This, of all my nights of suffering, stands foremost. When they opened my dungeon next day, they found me in a truly pitiable situation, wondered at my appetite, brought me another loaf ; I refused to accept it, believing I never more should have occasion for bread ; they, however, left me one, gave me water, shrugged up their shoulders, wished me farewell, as, according to all appearance, they never expected to find me alive, and shut all the doors without asking whether I wished or needed farther assistance.

Three days had passed before I could again eat a morsel of bread, and my mind, brave in health, now, in a sick body, became pusillanimous, so that I determined on death. The

irons, every where round my body, and their weight, were insupportable ; nor could I imagine it was possible I should habituate myself to them, or endure them long enough to expect deliverance. Peace was a very distant prospect. The king had commanded that such a prison should be built as should exclude all necessity of a centinel, in order that I might not converse with and seduce them from what is called their duty ; and, in the first days of despair, deliverance appeared impossible ; and the fetters, the war, the pain I felt, the place, the length of time, each circumstance seemed equally impossible to support. A thousand reasons convinced me it was necessary to end my sufferings. I shall not enter into theological disputes : let those who blame me imagine themselves in my situation ; or, rather, let them first actually endure my miseries, and then let them reason. I had often braved death in prosperity, and at this moment it seemed a blessing.

Full of these meditations, every minute's patience appeared absurdity, and resolution meanness of soul, yet I wished my mind should be satisfied that reason, and not rashness, had induced the act. I therefore determined, that I might examine the question coolly, to wait a week longer, and die on the fourth of July. In the mean time I revolved in my mind what possible means there were of escape, not fearing, naked and chained, to rush and expire on the bayonets of my enemies.

The next day I observed, as the four doors were opened, that they were only of wood, therefore questioned whether I might not even cut off the locks with the knife that I had so fortunately concealed ; and, should this and every other means fail, then would be the time to die. I likewise determined to make an attempt even to free myself of my chains. I happily forced my right hand through the hand-cuff, though the blood trickled from my nails. My attempts on the left were long ineffectual : but, by rubbing with a brick,

which I got from my seat, on the rivet that had been negligently closed, I effected this also.

The chain was fastened to the rim round my body, by a hook, one end of which was not inserted in the rim ; therefore, by setting my foot against the wall, I had strength enough so far to bend this hook back, and open it, as to force out the link of the chain. The remaining difficulty was the chain that attached my foot to the wall : the links of this chain I took, doubled, twisted, and wrenched, till, at length, nature having bestowed on me great strength, I made a desperate effort, sprang forcibly up, and two links at once flew off.

Fortunate, indeed, did I think myself ; I hastened to the door, groped in the dark to find the clinchings of the nails by which the lock was fastened, and discovered no very large piece of wood need be cut. Immediately I went to work with my knife, and cut through the oak door, to find its thickness, which proved to be only one inch, therefore was it possible to open all the four doors in four and twenty hours.

Again hope revived in my heart. To prevent detection I hastened to put on my chains ; but, oh God ! what difficulties had I to surmount ! After much groping about, I at length found the link that had flown off ; this I hid. It had been my good fortune hitherto to escape examination, as the possibility of ridding myself of such chains, was in no wise suspected. The separated links I tied together with my hair ribbon ! but, when I again endeavoured to force my hand into the ring, it was so swelled that every effort was fruitless. The whole night was employed upon the rivet, but all labour was in vain.

Noon was the hour of visitation, and necessity and danger again obliged me to attempt forcing my hand in, which at length, after excruciating torture, I effected. My visitors came, and every thing had the appearance of order. I found

it however, impossible to force out my right hand while it continued swelled.

I therefore remained quiet till the day fixed, and on the determined fourth of July, immediately as my visitors had closed the doors upon me, I disencumbered myself of my irons, took my knife, and began my Herculean labour on the door. The first of the double doors that opened inwards was conquered in less than an hour; the other was a very different task. The lock was soon cut round, but it opened outwards; there were therefore no other means left, but to cut the whole door away above the bar.

Incessant and incredible labour made this possible, though it was the more difficult, as every thing was to be done by feeling, I being totally in the dark; the sweat dropt, or rather flowed from my body; my fingers were clotted with my own blood, and my lacerated hands were one continued wound.

Day-light appeared, I clambered over the door that was half cut away, and got up to the window in the space or cell that was between the double doors, as before described. Here I saw my dungeon was in the ditch of the first rampart: before me I beheld the road from the rampart, the guard but fifty paces distant, and the high palisadoes that were in the ditch, and must be scaled before I could reach the rampart. Hope grew stronger; my efforts were redoubled. The first of the next double doors was attacked, which likewise opened inward, and was soon conquered. The sun set before I had ended this, and the fourth was to be cut away as the second had been. My strength failed; both my hands were raw: I rested awhile, began again, and had made a cut of a foot long when my knife snapt, and the broken blade dropt to the ground.

* * * * *

God of Omnipotence! what was I at at this moment! Was there, God of Mercies! was there ever creature of thine more justified than I in despair?—The moon shone

clear—I cast a wild and distracted look up to heaven, fell on my knees, and, in the agony of my soul, sought comfort ; but no comfort could be found, nor religion, nor philosophy had any to give.—I cursed not Providence, I feared not annihilation, I dared not Almighty vengeance ; God the creator was the disposer of my fate ; and if he heaped afflictions upon me he had not given me strength to support, his justice would not therefore punish me. To him, the Judge of the quick and dead, I committed my soul, seized the broken knife, gashed through the veins of my left arm and foot, sat myself tranquilly down, and saw the blood flow. Nature, overpowered, fainted, and I know not how long I remained slumbering in this state—Suddenly I heard my own name, awoke, and again heard the words, “ Baron Trenck !” My answer was, “ Who calls ?”—And who indeed was it—who but my honest grenadier Gefhardt—my former faithful friend in the citadel.—The good, the kind fellow had got upon the rampart, that he might comfort me.

“ How do you do ?” said Gefhardt—“ Weltering in my blood,” answered I ; “ to-morrow you will find me dead.”—“ Why should you die ?” replied he. “ It is much easier for you to escape here than from the citadel. Here is no centinel, and I shall soon find means to provide you with tools : if you can only break out, leave the rest to me. As often as I am on guard I will seek opportunity to speak to you. In the whole Star-Fort there are but two centinels, the one at the entrance, and the other at the guard-house.—Do not despair, God will succour you ; trust to me.”—The good man’s kindness and discourse revived my hopes : I saw the possibility of an escape. A secret joy diffused itself through my soul—I immediately tore my shirt, bound up my wounds, and waited the approach of day ; and the sun soon after shone through the window to me with unaccustomed brightness.

Let the reader judge how far it was chance, how far the effect of Divine providence, that in this dreadful hour my

heart again received hope. Who was it sent the honest Gefhardt, at such a moment, to my prison ? For, had it not been for him, I had certainly, when I awoke from my slumbers, cut more effectually through my arteries.

Till noon I had time to consider what might farther be done : yet, what could be done, what expected, but that I should now be much more cruelly treated, and even more insupportably ironed than before ; finding, as they must, the doors cut through, and my fetters shaken off.

After mature consideration, I, therefore, made the following resolution ; which succeeded happily, and even beyond my hopes. Before I proceed, however, I will speak a few words concerning my situation at this moment. It is impossible to describe how much I was exhausted. The prison swam with blood ; and, certainly, but little was left in my body. With painful wounds, swelled and torn hands, I there stood, shirtless, felt an inclination to sleep almost irresistible, and scarcely had strength to keep my legs ; yet was I obliged to rouse myself, that I might execute my plan.

With the bar that separated my hands I loosened the bricks of my seat, which being newly laid, was easily done, and heaped them up in the middle of my prison. The inner door was quite open, and with my chains I so barricadoed the upper half of the second, as to prevent any one climbing over it. When noon came, and the first of the doors was unlocked, all were astonished to find the second open. There I stood, a desperate man, besmeared with blood, the picture of horror, with a brick in one hand, and in the other my broken knife, crying as they approached, " Keep off, Mr. Major, keep off !—Tell the governor I will live no longer in chains, and that here I stand, if he so pleases, to be shot ; for so only will I be conquered. Here no man shall enter—I will destroy all that approach ; here are my weapons, here will I die in despite of tyranny." The major was terrified, wanted resolution, and made his report to the governor. I, mean time, sat down on my bricks, to

wait what might happen ; ; my secret intent, however, was not so desperate as it appeared. I sought only to obtain a favourable capitulation.

The governor, general Borck, presently came, attended by the town-major, and some officers, and entered the outward cell, but sprung back the moment he beheld a figure like me, standing with a brick and uplifted arm. I repeated what I had told the major, and he immediately ordered six grenadiers to force the door. The front cell was scarcely six feet broad, so that no more than two at a time could attack my intrenchment ; and when they saw my threatening bricks ready to descend, they leaped, terrified, back. A short pause ensued, and the old town-major, with the chaplain, advanced toward the door to sooth me : the conversation continued some time ; whose reasons were most satisfactory, and whose cause was the most just, I leave to the reader. The governor grew angry, and ordered a fresh attack. The first grenadier was knocked down, and the rest ran back to avoid my missiles.

The town-major again began a parley. " For God's sake, my dear Trenck," said he, " in what have I injured you, that you endeavour to effect my ruin ? I must answer for your having, through my negligence, concealed a knife. Be persuaded, I entreat you. Be appeased. You are not without hope, not without friends." My answer was—" But will you not load me with heavier irons than before ?"

He went out, spoke with the governor, and gave me his word of honour that the affair should be no farther noticed, and that every thing should be exactly reinstated as formerly.

Here ended the capitulation, and my wretched citadel was taken. The condition I was in was viewed with pity ; my wounds were examined, a surgeon sent to dress them, another shirt was given me, and the bricks, clotted with blood, removed. I meantime lay half dead on my mattress : my thirst was excessive ; the surgeon ordered me some wine ; two centinels were stationed in the front cell, and I

was thus left four days in peace, unironed. Broth also was given me daily ; and how delicious this was to taste, how much it revived and strengthened me, is wholly impossible to describe. Two days I lay in a slumbering kind of trance, forced, by unquenchable thirst, to drink whenever I awoke. My feet and hands were swelled ; the pains in my back and limbs were excessive.

On the fifth day the doors were ready ; the inner was entirely plated with iron, and I was fettered as before : perhaps they found further cruelty unnecessary. The principal chain, however, which fastened me to the wall, like that I had before broken, was thicker than the first. Except this, the capitulation was strictly kept. They deeply regretted that, without the king's express commands, they could not lighten my afflictions ; wished me fortitude and patience, and barred up my doors.

It is necessary I should here describe my dress. My hands being fixed and kept asunder, by an iron bar, and my feet chained to the wall, I could neither put on shirt or stockings in the usual mode ; the shirt was therefore tied, as represented in the plate, and changed once a fortnight ; the coarse ammunition stockings were buttoned on the sides ; a blue garment, of soldier's cloth, was likewise tied round me, and I had a pair of slippers for my feet. The shirt was of the army linen ; and when I contemplated myself in this dress of a malefactor, chained thus to the wall, in such a dungeon, vainly imploring mercy or justice, my conscience void of reproach, my heart of guilt ; when I reflected on my former splendor in Berlin and Moscow, and compared it with this sad, this dreadful reverse of destiny, I was sunk in grief, or roused to indignation, that might have hurried the greatest hero or philosopher to madness or despair. I felt what can only be imagined by him who has suffered like me, after having like me flourished, if such can be found.

Pride, the justness of my cause, the unbounded confidence

I had in my own resolution, and the labours of an inventive head, and an iron body, these only could have preserved my life. These bodily labours, these continued inventions, and projected plans to obtain my freedom, preserved my health. Who would suppose that a man, fettered as I was, could find means of exercising himself? By swinging my arms, acting with the upper part of my body, and leaping upward, I frequently put myself in a strong perspiration. After thus wearying myself, I slept soundly, and often thought how many generals, obliged to support all the inclemencies of weather, and all the dangers of the field—how many of those who had plunged me into this den of misery, would have been most glad, could they, like me, have slept with a quiet conscience. Often did I reflect how much happier I was than those tortured on the bed of sickness, by gout, stone, and other diseases, terrible to man. How much happier was I in innocence, than the malefactor doomed to suffer the pangs of death, the ignominy of men, and the horrors of internal guilt!

In the following part of my history it will appear I often had much money concealed under the ground, and in the walls of my den; yet would I have given a hundred ducats for a morsel of bread, it could not have been procured. Money was to me useless. In this I resembled the miser who hoards, yet lives in wretchedness, having no joy in gentle acts of benevolence. As proudly might I delight myself with my hidden treasure, as such misers; nay more, for I was secure from robbers.

Had fastidious pomp been my pleasure, I might have imagined myself some old field-marshal bedridden, who hears two grenadier centinels at his door call "Who goes there?" My honour indeed was still greater, for, during my last year's imprisonment, my door was guarded with no less than four. My vanity also might have flattered itself; I hence might conclude how high was the value set upon my head, since all this trouble was taken to hold me in security.

Certain it is that in my chains I thought more rationally, more nobly, reasoned more philosophically on man, his nature, his real, his imaginary wants, the effects of his ambition, his passions, and saw more distinctly his dream of earthly good, than those who had imprisoned me, or those who guarded. I was void of the fears that haunt the parasite, who servilely wears the chains of a court, and daily trembles for the loss of what vice and cunning have acquired. Those who have usurped my Sclavonian estates, and feasted sumptuously from the service of plate I had been robbed of, never ate their dainties with so sweet an appetite as I my ammunition bread, nor did their high-flavoured wines flow so limpid as my cold water.

Thus the man who thinks, being pure of heart, will find consolation when under the most dreadful of calamities, convinced, as he must be, that those apparently most are frequently least happy, insensible as they are of the pleasures they might enjoy. Evil never is so great as it appears.

“ Sweet are the uses of adversity.

Which, like the toad, ugly and venomous,

Wears yet a precious jewel in its head.”

*As You Like It.**

Happy he, who like me, having suffered, can become an example to his suffering brethren.

YOUTH, prosperous, and imagining prosperity eternal, read my history attentively, though I should be in my grave! Read feelingly, and bless my sleeping dust, if it hath taught thee wisdom or fortitude.

FATHER, reading this, say to thy children, I like them, in blooming youth, little prophesied of misfortune, which

* The Baron has quoted a poem written and published by himself.

“ Im uebel selbst steckt noch ein dreiss.

“ Wenn man shu nur zufinden weiss.”

The similarity of the thought, which seems borrowed from Shakspeare, justifies a quotation so beautiful.

after fell thus heavy on me, and by which I am even still persecuted ! Say that I had virtue, ambition, was educated in noble principles ; that I laboured with all the zeal of enthusiastic youth to become wiser, better, greater than other men ; that I was guilty of no crimes, was the friend of men, was no deceiver of man or woman ; that I first served my own country faithfully, and, after, every other in which I found bread ; that I was never, during my life, once intoxicated ; was no gamester, no night rambler, no contemptible idler ; that yet, through envy and arbitrary power, I have fallen to misery, such as none but the worst of criminals ought to feel.

BROTHER, fly those countries where the law-giver knows no law, where truth and virtue are punished as crimes : and, if fly you cannot, be it your endeavour to remain unknown, unnoticed ; in such countries seek not favour or honourable employ, else will you become, when your merits are known, as I have been, the victim of slander and treachery ; the behests of power will persecute you, and innocence will not shield you from the shafts of wicked men, who are envious, or who wish to obtain the favour of princes, though by the worst of means.

SIRE, imagine not thou readest a romance : my head is grey, like thine. Read, yet despise not the world, though it has treated me thus unthankfully. Good men have I also found, who have befriended me in misfortune, and there, where least I had claim, have I found them most. May my book assist thee in noble thoughts ; mayst thou die as tranquilly as I shall render up my soul to appear before the Judge of me and my persecutors. Be death but thought, a transition from motion to rest. Few are the delights of this world for him, who, like me, has learned to know it. *Murmur not, despair not of Providence.* Me, through storms, it has brought to heaven ; through many griefs, to self-knowledge ; and through prisons, to philosophy. He only can tranquilly descend to annihilation, who finds reason not

to repent he has once existed. My rudder broke not amid the rocks and quicksands, but my bark was cast upon the strand of knowledge. Yet, even on these clear shores, are impenetrable clouds. I have seen more distinctly than it is supposed men ought to see. Age will decay the faculties, and mental, like bodily sight, must then decrease. I even grew weary of science, and envied the blind-born, or those who, till death, have been wilfully hood winked. How often have I been asked, "What didst thou see?"—And when I answered with sincerity and truth, how often have I been derided as a liar, and been persecuted by those who determined not to see themselves, as an innovator, singular and rash!

Sire, I farther say to thee, teach thy descendants to seek the golden mean, and say with Gellert—"The boy Fritz needs nothing: his stupidity will ensure his success."—Examine our wealthy and titled lords, what their abilities are, and what their honours, then inquire how they were attained, and, if thou canst, discover in what true happiness consists.

Once more to my prison. The failure of my escape, and the recovery of life from this state of despair, led me to moralise deeper than I had ever done before; and in this depth of thought I found unexpected consolation and fortitude, and a firm persuasion I yet should accomplish my deliverance.

Gefhardt, my honest grenadier, had infused fresh hope, and my mind now busily began to meditate new plans. A centinel had been placed before my door, that I might be more narrowly watched, and the married men of the Prussian states were appointed to this duty, who, as I shall hereafter show, were more easy to persuade in aiding my flight, than foreign fugitives. The Pomeranian will listen, and is by nature kind, therefore may easily be moved, and induced to succour distress.

I began to be more accustomed to my irons, which I had

before found so insupportable ; I could comb out my long hair, and tie it at last with one hand. My beard, which had so long remained unshaven, gave me a grim appearance, and I began to pluck it up by the roots. The pain, at first, was considerable, especially round the lips ; but this, also, custom conquered, and I performed this operation in the following years, once in six weeks or two months ; as the hair thus plucked up required that length of time before the nails could again get hold. Vermin did not molest me ; the dampness of my den was inimical to them. My limbs never swelled, because of the exercise I gave myself, as before described. The greatest pain I found was in the continued unvivifying dimness in which I lived.

I had read much ; had lived in, and seen much of the world ; vacuity of thought therefore I was little troubled with ; the former transactions of my life, what had happened, and the remembrance of the persons I had known, I revolved so often in my mind, that they became as familiar and connected as if the events had each been written in the order it occurred. Habit made this mental exercise so perfect to me, that I could compose speeches, fables, odes, satires, all which I repeated aloud ; and had so stored my memory with them, that I was enabled, after I had obtained my freedom, to commit to writing two volumes of these my prison labours. Accustomed to this exercise, days, that would otherwise have been days of misery, appeared but as moments. The following narrative will show how much esteem, how many friends, these compositions procured me, even in my dungeon, insomuch that I obtained light, paper, and, finally, freedom itself. For these have I to thank the industrious acquirements of my youth ; therefore, do I counsel all my readers so to employ their time. Riches, honours, the favours of fortune, may be showered by monarchs upon the most worthless ; but monarchs can give and take, say and unsay, raise and pull down. Monarchs, however, can

neither give wisdom nor virtue. Arbitrary power itself, in the presence of these, is foiled.

How wisely has Providence ordained that the endowments of industry, learning, and science, attained by ourselves, cannot be taken from us ; while, on the contrary, what others bestow is a fantastical dream, from which any accident may awaken us ! The wrath of Frederic could destroy legions, and defeat armies ; but it could not take from me the sense of honour, of innocence, and, their sweet concomitant, peace of mind—could not deprive me of fortitude and magnanimity : I defied his power, rested on the justice of my cause, found in myself expedients wherewith to oppose him, was at length crowned with conquest, and came forth to the world the martyr of suffering virtue.

Some of my oppressors now rot in dishonourable graves. Others, alas ! in Vienna, remained immured in houses of correction, as Kriigel and Zetto, or beg their bread, like Gravenitz and Doo. Nor are the wealthy possessors of my estates more fortunate, but look down with shame whenever I and my children appear. We stand erect, esteemed, and honoured, while their injustice is manifest to the whole world.

Young man, be industrious ; for, without industry, can none of the treasures I have described be purchased. Thy labour will reward itself ; then, when assaulted by misfortune, or even misery, learn of me, and smile ; or, shouldest thou escape such trials, still labour to acquire wisdom, that in old age thou mayest find content and happiness.

The years in my dungeon passed away as days, those moments excepted when, thinking on the great world, and the deeds of great men, my ambition was roused : except when, contemplating the vileness of my chains, and the wretchedness of my situation, I laboured for liberty, and found my labours endless and ineffectual : except while I remember the triumph of my enemies, and the splendor in which those, by whom I had been plundered, lived. Then,

indeed, did I experience intervals that approached madness, despair, and horror : beholding myself destitute of friend or protector, the empress herself, for whose sake I suffered, deserting me ; reflecting on past times and past prosperity ; remembering how the good and virtuous, from the cruel nature of my punishment, must be obliged to conclude me a wretch and a villain, and that all means of justification were cut off ; oh, God ! how did my heart beat ! with what violence ! What would I not have undertaken, in these suffering moments, to have put my enemies to shame ? Vengeance and rage then rose rebellious against patience ; long-suffering philosophy vanished, and the poisoned cup of Socrates would have been the nectar of the gods.

Man deprived of hope is man destroyed. I found but little probability in all my plans and projects ; yet did I trust that some of them should succeed ; yet did I confide in them, in my honest Gefhardt, and that I should still free myself from my chains.

The greatest of all my incitements to patient endurance was love. I had left behind me, in Vienna, a lady for whom the world still was dear to me ; her would I neither desert nor afflict. To her and my sister was my existence still necessary. For their sakes, who had lost and suffered so much for mine, would I preserve my life : for them no difficulty, no suffering, was too great ; yet them, alas ! when long-desired liberty was restored, I found both in their graves. The joy, for which I had borne so much, was no more to be tasted.

About three weeks after my attempt to escape, the good Gefhardt first came to stand centinel over me ; and the centinel they had so carefully set was indeed the only hope I could have of escape ; for help must be had from without, or this was impossible.

The effort I had made had excited too much surprise and alarm for me to pass without strict examination ; since, on the ninth day after I was confined, I had, in eighteen hours,

so far broken through a prison built purposely for myself, by a combination of so many projectors, and with such extreme precaution, which prison had universally been declared impenetrable.

Gefhardt scarcely had taken his post before we had free opportunity of conversing together ; for when I stood with one foot on my bedstead, I could reach the aperture through which light was admitted.

Gefhardt described the situation of my dungeon ; and our first plan was to break under the foundation, which he had seen laid, and which he affirmed to be only two feet deep.

Money was the first thing necessary. Gefhardt was relieved during his guard, and returned bringing with him a sheet of paper rolled on a wire, which he passed through my grating ; as he also did a piece of small wax-candle, some burning amadow (a kind of tinder), a match, and a pen. I now had light, and I pricked my finger, and wrote with my blood to my faithful friend, captain Ruckhardt, at Vienna, described my situation in a few words, sent him an acquittance for three thousand florins on my revenues, and requested he would dispose of a thousand florins to defray the expences of his journey to Gummern, only two miles from Magdeburg. Here he was positively to be on the 15th of August. About noon, on this same day, he was to walk, with a letter in his hand ; and a man was there to meet him, carrying a roll of smoking tobacco, to him he must remit the two thousand florins, and return to Vienna.

I returned the written paper to Gefhardt by the same means it had been received, gave him my instructions, and he sent his wife with it to Gummern, by whom it was safely put in the post.

My hopes daily rose ; and as often as Gefhardt mounted guard, so often did we continue our projects. The 15th of August came, but it was some days before Gefhardt was again on guard ; and, oh ! how did my heart palpitate

when he came and exclaimed, "All is right! we have succeeded!" He returned in the evening, and we began to consider by what means he could convey the money to me. I could not, with my hands chained to an iron bar, reach the aperture of the window that admitted air; beside that it was too small. It was therefore agreed that Gefhardt should, on the next guard, perform the office of cleaning my dungeon, and that he then should convey the money to me in the water-jug.

This, luckily, was done. How great was my astonishment when, instead of one, I found two thousand florins! For I had permitted him to reserve half to himself, as a reward for his fidelity. He, however, had kept but five pistoles, which he persisted was enough.

Worthy Gefhardt! This was the act of a Pomeranian grenadier! How rare are such examples! Be thy name and mine ever united. Live thou while the memory of me shall live. Never did my acquaintance with the great bring to my knowledge, a soul so noble, so disinterested!

It is true I afterward prevailed on him to accept the whole thousand: but we shall soon see he never had them, and that his foolish wife, three years after, suffered by their means; however, she suffered alone, for he soon marched to the field, and therefore was unpunished.

Having money to carry on my designs, I began to put my plan of burrowing under the foundation into execution. The first thing necessary was to free myself from my fetters. To accomplish this, Gefhardt supplied me with two small files, and by the aid of these, this labour, though great, was effected.

The cap, or staple of the foot-ring, was made so wide, that I could draw it forward a quarter of an inch. I filed the iron which passed through it on the inside; and the more I filed this away, the farther I could draw the cap down, till at last the whole inside iron, through which the chains passed, was quite cut through; by this means I

could slip off the ring, while the cap on the outside continued whole ; and it was impossible to discover any cut, as only the outside could be examined. My hands, by continued efforts, I so compressed, as to be able to draw them out of the hand-cuffs. I then filed the hinge, and made a screw-driver of one of the foot-long flooring nails, by which I could take out the screws at pleasure, so that at the time of examination no proofs would appear. The rim round my body was but a small impediment, except the chain, which passed from my hand-bar ; and this I removed, by filing an aperture in one of the links, which, at the necessary hour, I closed with bread, rubbed over with rusty iron, first drying it by the heat of my body ; and would wager any sum that, without striking the chain, link by link, with a hammer, no one, not in the secret, would have discovered this fracture.

The window was never strictly examined ; I, therefore, drew the two staples by which the iron bars were fixed to the wall, and which I daily replaced, carefully plastering them over. I procured wire from Gefhardt, and tried how well I could imitate the inner grating. Finding I succeeded tolerably, I cut the real grating totally away, and substituted an artificial one of my own fabricating, by which I obtained a free communication with the outside, additional fresh air, together with all necessary implements, tinder and candles. That the light might not be seen, I hung the coverlid of my bed before the window, so that I could work fearless and undetected.

Every thing prepared, I went to work. The floor of my dungeon was not of stone, but oak planks, three inches thick, three beds of which were laid crosswise, and were fastened to each other by nails, half an inch in diameter, and a foot long. Having worked round the head of a nail, I made use of the hole at the end of the bar which separated my hands, to draw it out, and this nail I sharpened upon my tomb-stone into an excellent chisel.

I now cut through the board more than an inch in width,

that I might work downward ; and having drawn away a piece of board which was inserted two inches under the wall, I cut this so as exactly to fit : the small crevice it occasioned I stopped up with bread, and strewed over with dust, so as to prevent all suspicious appearance. My labour under this was continued with less precaution, and I had soon worked through my nine-inch planks. Under them I came to a fine white sand, on which the Star-Fort was built. My chips I carefully distributed beneath the boards. If I had not help from without, I could proceed no farther ; for to dig were useless, unless I could rid myself of my rubbish. Gefhardt supplied me with some ells of cloth, of which I made long narrow bags, stuffed them with earth, and passed them between the iron bars to Gefhardt, who as often as he was on guard, scattered or conveyed away their contents.

Furnished with room to secret them under the floor, I obtained more instruments, together with a pair of pistols, powder, ball, and a bayonet.

I now discovered that the foundation of my prison, instead of two, was sunken four feet deep. Time, labour and patience, were all necessary to break out, unheard, and undiscovered ; but few things are impossible where resolution is not wanting.

The hole I made was obliged to be four feet deep, corresponding with the foundation, and wide enough to kneel and stoop in : the lying down on the floor to work, the continual stooping to throw out the earth, the narrow space in which all must be performed, these made the labour incredible ; and, after this daily labour, all things were to be replaced, and my chains again resumed, which alone required some hours to effect. My greatest aid was in the wax candles, and light I had procured ; but as Gefhardt stood centinel only once a fortnight, my work was much delayed : the centinels were forbidden to speak to me under pain of death ; and I was too fearful of being betrayed to dare to seek new assistance.

Being without a stove, I suffered much this winter from cold, yet my heart was cheerful, as I saw the probability of freedom; and all were astonished to find me in such good spirits.

Gefhardt also brought me supplies of provisions, chiefly consisting of sausages and salt meats ready dressed, which increased my strength; and when I was not digging I wrote satires and verses: thus time was employed, and I contented, even in prison.

Lulled into security, an accident happened, that will appear almost incredible, and by which every hope was nearly frustrated.

Gefhardt had been working with me, and was relieved in the morning. As I was replacing the window, which I was obliged to remove on these occasions, it fell out of my hand, and three of the glass panes were broken. Gefhardt was not to return till guard was again relieved; I had, therefore no opportunity of speaking with him, or concerting any mode of repair. I remained nearly an hour conjecturing and hesitating; for certainly, had the broken window been seen, as it was impossible I should reach it when fettered, I should immediately have been more rigidly examined, and the false grating must have been discovered.

I therefore came to a resolution, and spoke to the centinel, who was amusing himself with whistling, thus: "My good fellow, have pity, not upon me, but upon your comrades, who, should you refuse, will certainly be executed: I will throw you thirty pistoles through the window, if you will do me a small favour." He remained some moments silent, and at last answered, in a low voice, "What! have you money then?"—I immediately counted thirty pistoles, and threw them through the window. He asked to know what he was to do: I told my difficulty, and gave him the size of the panes in paper. The man, fortunately was bold and prudent. The door of the palisadoes, through the negligence of the officer, had not been shut that day: he pre-

prevailed on one of his comrades to stand sentinel for him, during half an hour, while he, mean time, ran into the town, and procured the glass; on the receipt of which I instantly threw him ten more pistoles. Before the hour of noon and visitation came, every thing was once more reinstated, my glazery performed to a miracle, and the life of my worthy Gefhardt preserved!—Such is the power of money in this world! This is a very remarkable incident, for I never spoke after to the man who did me this signal service.

Gefhardt's alarm may easily be imagined: he, some days after, returned to his post, and was the more astonished, as he knew the sentinel who had done me this good office; that he had five children, and was a man most to be depended on by his officers of any one in the whole grenadier company.

I now continued my labour, and found it very possible to break out under the foundation: but Gefhardt had been so terrified by the late accident, that he started "a thousand difficulties, in proportion as my end was more nearly accomplished; and, at the moment when I wished to concert with him the means of flight, he persisted it was necessary to find additional help to escape in safety, and not bring both him and myself to destruction.—At length we came to the following determination; which, however, after eight months' incessant labour past, rendered my whole project abortive.

I wrote once more to Ruckhardt, at Vienna; sent him a new assignment for money, and desired he would again repair to Gummern, where he should wait six several nights, with two spare horses, on the glacis of Klosterbergen, at the time appointed, every thing being prepared for flight. Within these six days, Gefhardt would have found means, either in rotation, or by exchanging the guard, to have been with me. Alas! the sweet hope of again beholding the face of the sun, of once more obtaining my freedom, endured but three days. Providence thought proper otherwise to ordain.

Gefhardt sent his wife to Gummern with the letter, and this silly woman told the post-master her husband had a lawsuit at Vienna, that, therefore, she begged he would take particular care of the letter; for which purpose she slipped ten rix-dollars into his hand.

This unexpected liberality raised the suspicions of the Saxon post-master, who, therefore, opened the letter, read the contents, and instead of sending it to Vienna, or, at least, to the general post-master at Dresden, he preferred the traitorous act of taking it himself to the governor of Magdeburg, who then, as at present, was prince Ferdinand of Brunswick.

What were my terrors, what my despair, when I beheld the prince himself, about three o'clock in the afternoon, enter my prison, with his attendants, present my letter, and ask, in an authoritative voice, who had carried it to Gummern.—My answer was, I knew not. Strict search was immediately made, by smiths, carpenters, and masons; and, after half an hour's examination, they discovered neither my hole, nor the manner in which I disencumbered myself of my chains; they only saw that the middle grating, in the aperture where the light was admitted, had been removed. This was boarded up the next day, and only a small air-hole left, of about six inches diameter.

The prince began to threaten; I persisted I had never seen the centinel who had rendered me this service, nor asked his name. Seeing his attempts all ineffectual, the governor, in a milder tone, said, "You have ever complained, baron Trenck, of not having hitherto been legally sentenced, or heard in your own defence; I give you my word of honour this you shall be, and, also, that you shall be released from your fetters, if you will only tell me who took your letter." To this I replied with all the fortitude of innocence,—"Every body knows, my lord, I have never deserved the treatment I have met with in my country. My heart is irreproachable. I seek to recover my liberty.

by every means in my power ; but were I capable of betraying the man whose compassion has induced him to succour my distress,—were I the coward that could purchase happiness at his expence, I then should, indeed, deserve to wear these chains with which I am loaded. For myself, do with me what you please ; yet remember I am not wholly destitute, I am still a captain in the imperial service, and a descendant of the house of Trenck.”

Prince Ferdinand stood, for a moment, unable to answer, then renewed his threats, and left my dungeon. I have been since told that, when he was out of hearing, he said to those round him, “ I pity his hard fate, and cannot but admire his strength of mind ! ”

I must here remark that, when we remember the usual circumspection of this great man, we are obliged to wonder at his imprudence in holding a conversation of such a kind with me, which lasted a considerable time, in the presence of the guard. The soldiers of the whole garrison had afterward the utmost confidence, as they were convinced I would not meanly devote others to destruction, that I might benefit myself. This was the way to gain me esteem and intercourse among the men, especially as the duke had said he knew I must have money concealed, for that I had distributed some to the centinels.

He had scarcely been gone an hour, before I heard a noise near my prison. I listened—What could it be ? I heard talking, and learned a grenadier had hanged himself to the palisadoes of my prison.

The officer of the guard, and the town-major, again entered my dungeon, to fetch a lantern they had forgotten ; and the officer, at going out, told me, in a whisper, “ One of your associates has just hanged himself.”

It is impossible to impart my terror or sensations ; I believed it could be only my kind, my honest friend Gefhardt. After many gloomy thoughts, and lamenting the unhappy end of so worthy a fellow, I began to recollect what the

prince had promised me, if I would discover my accomplice. I knocked at the door, desired to speak to the officer ; he came to the window, and asked what I wanted ? I requested he would inform the governor, that if he would send me a light, pen, ink, and paper, I would discover my whole secret.

These were accordingly sent ; an hour's time was granted ; the door was shut, and I left alone. I sat myself down, began to write on my night-table, and was about to insert the name of Gefhardt, but my blood thrilled, and shrunk back to my heart. I shuddered, rose, went to the aperture of the window, and called, " Is there no man who, in compassion, will tell me the name of him who has hanged himself, that I may deliver many others from destruction ?" The window was not nailed up till the next day ; I therefore wrapped five pistoles in a paper, threw them out, called to the centinel, and said, " Friend, take these, and save thy comrades ; or, go, betray me, and bring down innocent blood upon thy head !"

The paper was taken up ; a pause of silence ensued ; I heard sighs, and presently after, a low voice said, " His name is Schütz, he belonged to the company of Ripps."—I had never heard the name before, or known the man ; but I, however, immediately wrote Schütz, instead of Gefhardt. Having finished the letter, I called the lieutenant, who took that and the light away, and again barred up the door of my dungeon. The duke, however, suspected there must be some collusion, and every thing remained in the same state ; I obtained neither hearing nor court-martial. I learned, in the sequel, the following circumstances, which will display the truth of this apparently incredible story.

While I was imprisoned in the citadel, a centinel came to the post under my window, cursed and blasphemed, exclaimed aloud—" Damn the Prussian service ! If Trenck only knew my mind, he would not long continue in his infernal hole !" I entered into discourse with him, and he

told me if I could give him money to purchase a boat, in which he might cross the Elbe, he would soon make my doors fly open, and set me free.

Money at that time I had none ; but I gave him a diamond shirt buckle, worth five hundred florins, which I had concealed. I never heard more from this man ; he spoke to me no more. He often stood centinel over me, which I knew by his Westphalian dialect ; and I as often addressed myself to him, but ineffectually, he would make no answer.

This Schütz must have sold my buckle, and let his riches be seen ; for, when the duke left me, the lieutenant on guard said to him—" You must certainly be the rascal who carried Trenck's letter ; you have, for some time past, spent much money, and we have seen you with louis-d'ors. How came you by them ? Schütz was terrified ; his conscience accused him ; he imagined I should betray him, knowing he had deceived me. He, therefore, in the first agonies of despair, came to the palisadoes, and hung himself before the door of my dungeon.

How wonderful is the hand of Providence ! The wicked man fell a sacrifice to his crime, after having escaped a whole year, and the faithful, the benevolent-hearted Gefhardt, was thereby saved.

The centinels were now doubled, that any intercourse with them might be rendered more difficult. Gefhardt again stood guard, but he had scarcely opportunity, without danger, to speak a few words : he thanked me for having preserved him, wished me better fortune, and told me the garrison in a few days would take the field.

This was dreadful news : my whole plan was destroyed at a breath. I, however, soon recovered fresh hopes. The hole I had sunken was not discovered : I had five hundred florins, candles, and implements.

The seven-years war broke out about a week after, and the regiments took the field. Major Weyner came, for the last time, and committed me to the care of the new major of

the militia, Bruckhausen, who was one of the most surly and stupid of men. I shall often have occasion to mention this man.

All the majors and lieutenants of the guard, who had treated me with compassion and esteem, now departed, and I became an old prisoner in a new world. I acquired greater confidence, however, by remembering that both officers and men in the militia were much easier to gain over than in the regulars; the truth of which opinion was soon confirmed to me.

Four lieutenants were appointed, with their men, to mount guard at the Star-Fort in turn; and, before a year had passed, three of them were in my interest.

The regiments had scarcely taken the field ere the new governor, general Borck, entered my prison like what he was, an imperious, cruel tyrant. The king, in giving him the command, had informed him he must answer for my person with his head; he therefore had full power to treat me with whatever severity he pleased.

Borck was a stupid man, of an unfeeling heart, the slave of despotic orders, and, as often as he thought it possible I might rid myself of my fetters, and escape, his heart palpitated with fear. In addition to this, he considered me as the vilest of men and traitors, seeing his king had condemned me to imprisonment so cruel; and his barbarity toward me was thus the effect of character, and meanness of soul. He entered my dungeon, not as an officer to visit a brother officer in misery, but as an executioner to a felon. Smiths then made their appearance, and a monstrous iron collar, of a hand's breadth, was put round my neck, and connected with the chains of the feet by additional heavy links; as may be seen in the plate. My window was walled up, except a small air-hole. He even, at length, took away my bed, gave me no straw, and quitted me with a thousand revilings on the empress-queen, her whole army, and myself. In words, however, I was little in his debt; and he was enraged even to madness.

What my situation was under this additional load of tyranny, and the command of a man so void of human pity, the reader must imagine. My greatest good fortune consisted in the ability I still had to disencumber myself of all the irons that were connected with the ankle-rims, and the provision I had of light, paper, and implements ; and though it was, apparently, impossible I should break out undiscovered by both centinels, yet had I the remaining hope of gaining some officer, by money, who, as in Glatz, should assist my escape.

Had the commands of the king been literally obeyed, escape would have been wholly impossible ; for, by this, all communication would have been cut totally off with the centinels. To this effect the four keys of the four doors were each to be kept by different persons ; one with the governor, another with the town-major, the third with the major of the day, and the fourth with the lieutenant of the guard. I never could have found opportunity to have spoken with any one of them singly. These commands, at first, were rigidly observed, with this exception, that the governor made his appearance only every week. Magdeburg became so full of prisoners, that the town-major was obliged to deliver up his key to the major of the day, and the governor's visitations wholly subsided, the citadel being an English mile and a half distant from the Star-Fort.

General Walrave*, who had been a prisoner ever since the year 1746, was also at the Star-Fort, but he had apartments, and three thousand rix-dollars a year. The major

* Walrave (or Walrabe) had long been suspected of partiality to Austria, he being a bigotted catholic. He was at length betrayed by a mistress, for whose husband (for she was married) he had obtained the dignity of counsellor. Frederick when he granted the title, told Walrave it certainly became the mistress of a general to have a counsellor for a husband. He was superintendant of the fortifications, and was confined, not, according to Fischer, in 1746, but in 1748, in a prison himself had built at Magdeburg.

of the day and the officers of the guard dined with him daily, and generally staid till evening. Either from compassion, or a concurrence of fortunate circumstances, these gentlemen entrusted the keys to the lieutenant on guard, by which means I could speak with each of them alone when they made their visit, and they themselves, at length, sought these opportunities. My consequent undertakings I shall relate with all brevity, that I may not fatigue the reader with all the arts and inventions of a wretched prisoner endeavouring to escape.

Borck had selected three majors and four lieutenants only for this service, as those he best could trust. My situation was truly deplorable. The enormous iron round my neck pained me, and prevented motion ; and I durst not attempt to desengage myself from the pendent chains till I had, for some months, carefully observed the mode of their examination, and which parts they supposed were perfectly secure. The cruelty of depriving me of my bed was still greater : I was obliged to sit upon the bare ground, and lean with my head against the damp wall. The chains that descended from the neck collar were obliged to be supported first with one hand, and then with the other ; for, if thrown behind, they would have strangled me, and, if hanging forward, occasioned most excessive head-achs. The bar between my hands held one down while leaning on my elbow, I supported with my other my chains ; and this so benumbed the muscles and prevented circulation, that I could perceive my arms sensibly waste away. The little sleep I could have in such a situation may easily be supposed ; and, at length, body and mind sunk under this accumulation of miserable suffering, and I fell ill of a burning fever.

The tyrant Borck was inexorable ; he wished to expedite my death, and rid himself of his troubles and his terrors. Here did I experience what was the lamentable condition of a sick prisoner, without bed, refreshment, or aid from human

being. Reason, fortitude, heroism, all the noble qualities of the mind, decay when the corporeal faculties are diseased; and the remembrance of my sufferings, at this dreadful moment, still agitates, still inflames, my blood, so as almost to prevent an attempt to describe what they were.

Yet hope had not totally forsaken me. Deliverance seemed possible, especially should peace ensue; and I sustained, perhaps what mortal man never bore, except myself, being, as I was, provided with pistols, or any such immediate mode of dispatch.

I continued ill about two months, and was so reduced, at last, that I had scarcely strength to lift the water-jug to my mouth. What must the sufferings of that man be who sits two months on the bare ground in a dungeon so damp, so dark, so horrible, without bed or straw, his limbs loaded as mine were, with no refreshment but dry ammunition-bread, without so much as a drop of broth, without physic, without consoling friend, and who, under all these afflictions, must trust, for his recovery, to the efforts of nature alone.

Sickness itself is sufficient to humble the mightiest mind; what then is sickness, with such addition of torment? The burning fever, the violent head-achs, my neck swelled and inflamed with the irons, enraged me almost to madness. The fever, and the fetters, together, flayed my body so that it appeared like one continued wound—Enough! Enough!—The malefactor extended living on the wheel, to whom the cruel executioner refuses the last stroke, the blow of death, must yet, in some short period, expire: he suffers nothing I did not then suffer, and these my excruciating pangs continued two dreadful months—Yet, can it be supposed? There came a day!—A day of horror, when these mortal pangs were, beyond imagination, increased! I sat, scorched with this intolerable fever, in which nature and death were contending, and, when attempting to quench my burning entrails with cold water, the jug dropped from my feeble hands, and broke! I had four-and-twenty hours to

remain without water. So intolerable, so devouring, was my thirst, I could have drank human blood ! Ay, in my madness, had it been the blood of my father !

* * * * *

Willingly would I have seized my pistols, but strength had forsaken me ; I could not open the place I was obliged to render so secure.

My visitors, next day, supposed me gone at last—I lay motionless, with my tongue out of my mouth. They poured water down my throat, and found life.

O God ! O God ! How pure, how delicious, how exquisite, was this water !—My insatiable thirst soon emptied the jug ; they filled it anew, bade me farewell, hoped death would soon relieve my mortal sufferings, and departed.

The lamentable state in which I lay, at length, became so much the subject of general conversation, that all the ladies of the town united with the officers, and prevailed on the tyrant, Borck, to restore me my bed.

O Nature ! what are thy operations ! From the day I drank water in such excess I gathered strength, and, to the astonishment of every one, soon recovered. I had moved the heart of the officer who inspected my prison ; and, after six months, six cruel months, of added misery, the day of hope again began to dawn.

One of the majors of the day entrusted his key to lieutenant Sonntag, who came alone, spoke in confidence, and related his own situation, complained of his debts, his poverty, his necessities ; and I made him a present of twenty-five louis d'ors, for which he was so grateful that our friendship became unshaken.

The three lieutenants all commiserated me, and would sit hours with me, when a certain major had the inspection ; and he himself, after a time, would even pass half the day with me. He, too, was poor ; and I gave him a draft for three thousand florins : hence new projects took birth.

Money became necessary ; I had dispersed all I pos-

sessed, a hundred florins excepted, among the officers. The eldest son of captain K——n, who officiated as major, had been cashiered : his father complained to me of his distress, and I sent him to my sister, not far from Berlin, from whom he received a hundred ducats. He returned, and related her joy at hearing from me. He found her exceedingly ill; and she informed me, in a few lines, that my misfortunes, and the treachery of Weingarten, had entailed poverty upon her, and an illness which had endured more than two years. She wished me a happy deliverance from my chains, and, in expectation of death, committed her children to my protection. She, however, grew better, and married a second time, colonel Pape; but died in the year 1758. I shall forbear to relate her history; it indeed does no honour to the ashes of Frederic, and would but less dispose my own heart to forgiveness, by reviving the memory of her oppressions and griefs.

K——n returned happy with the money; all things were concerted with the father. I wrote to the countess Bestuchef, also to the Grand Duke, afterwards Peter III. recommended the young soldier, and entreated every possible succour for myself.

K——n departed, through Hamburg, for Petersburg, where, in consequence of my recommendation, he became a captain, and in a short time a major. He took his measures so well, that I, by the intervention of his father, and a Hamburg merchant, received two thousand rubles from the countess, while the service he rendered me made his own fortune in Russia.

To old K——n, who was as poor as he was honest, I gave three hundred ducats; and he till death, continued my grateful friend. I distributed nearly as much to the other officers; and matters proceeded so far, that lieutenant Glotin gave back the keys to the major without locking my prison, himself passing half the night with me. Money was given to the guard to drink; and thus every thing succeeded

to my wish, and the tyrant Borck was deceived. I had a supply of light ; had books, newspapers, and my days passed swiftly away. I read, I wrote, I busied myself so thoroughly that I almost forgot I was a prisoner.—When indeed the surly, dull blockhead, major Bruckhausen, had the inspection, every thing must be carefully reinstated. Major Z—, the second of the three, was also wholly mine. He was particularly attached to me ; for I had promised to marry his daughter, and, should I die in prison, bequeathed him a legacy of ten thousand florins.

Lieutenant Sonntag got false hand-cuffs made for me, that were so wide I could easily draw my hands out ; the lieutenants only examined my irons ; the new hand-cuffs were made perfectly similar to the old, and Bruckhausen had too much stupidity to remark any difference.

The remainder of my chains I could disencumber myself of at pleasure. When I exercised myself, I held them in my hands, that the centinels might be deceived by their clanking. The neck iron was the only one I durst not remove ; it was, likewise, too strongly rivetted. I filed through the upper link of the pendant chain however, by which means I could take it off, and this I concealed with bread in the manner before mentioned.

So could I disencumber myself of most of my fetters, and sleep at ease. I again obtained sausages and cold meat, and thus my situation, bad as it still was, became less miserable.—Liberty, still, however, was most desirable : but, alas ! not one of the three lieutenants had the courage of a Schell : Saxony too was in the hands of the Prussians, and flight, therefore, more dangerous.—Persuasion was in vain, with men determined to risk nothing, but, if they went, to go in safety. Will, indeed, was not wanting in Glotin and Sonntag ; but the first was a poltroon, and the latter a man of scruples, who likewise thought this step might be the ruin of his brother in Berlin.

The centinels were doubled, therefore my escape through

my hole, which had been two years dug, could not, unperceived by them, be effected ; still less could I, in face of the guard, clamber the twelve-feet high palisadoes. The following labour therefore, though Herculean, was undertaken.

Lieutenant Sonntag, measuring the interval between the hole I had dug and the entrance of the gallery in the principal rampart, found it to be thirty-seven feet. Into this, it was possible, I might, by mining, penetrate. The difficulty of the enterprise was lessened by the nature of the ground, a fine white sand.—Could I reach the gallery my freedom was certain. I had been informed how many steps to the right or left must be taken, to find the door that led to the second rampart: and, on the day when I should be ready for flight, the officer was, secretly, to leave this door open. I had light, and mining tools, and I was further to rely on money and my own discretion.

I began and continued this labour about six months. I have already noticed the difficulty of scraping out the earth with my hands. The noise of instruments would have been heard by the centinels ; I had scarcely mined beyond my dungeon-wall before I discovered the foundation of the rampart was not more than a foot deep ; a capital error, certainly, in so important a fortress. My labour became the lighter, as I could remove the foundation stones of my dungeon, and was not obliged to mine so deep.

My work, at first, proceeded so rapidly, that, while I had room to throw back my sand, I was able in one night, to gain three feet ; but ere I had proceeded ten feet I discovered all my difficulties. Before I could continue my work, I was obliged to make room for myself, by emptying the sand out of my hole upon the floor of the prison, and this itself was an employment of some hours. The sand was obliged to be thrown out by the hand, and after it thus lay, heaped in my prison, must be again returned into the hole : and I have calculated that, after I had proceeded twenty feet, I was obliged to creep under ground, in my hole, from

fifteen hundred to two thousand fathoms, within twenty-four hours, in the removal and replacing of the sand. This labour ended, care was to be taken that, in none of the crevices of the floor there might be any appearance of this fine white sand. The flooring was next to be exactly replaced, and my chains to be resumed. So severe was the fatigue of one day, in this mode, that I was always obliged to rest the three following.

To reduce my labour as much as possible, I was constrained to make the passage so small that my body only had space to pass, and I had not room to draw my arm back to my head. The work too must all be done naked, otherwise the dirtiness of my shirt must have been remarked : the sand was wet, water being found at the depth of four feet, where the stratum of gravel began. At length the expedient of sand-bags occurred to me, by which it might be removed out and in more expeditiously. I obtained linen from the officers, but not in sufficient quantities ; suspicions would have been excited at observing so much linen brought into the prison. At last I took my sheets, and the ticking that inclosed my straw, and cut them up for sand-bags, taking care to lie down on my bed, as if ill, when Bruckhausen paid his visits.

The labour, toward the conclusion, became so intolerable, as to incite despondency. I frequently sat contemplating the heaps of sand, during a momentary respite from work, and, thinking it impossible I could have strength or time again to replace all things as they were, resolving patiently to wait the consequence, and leave every thing in its present disorder. No ; I can assure the reader that, to effect concealment, I have scarcely had time, in twenty-four hours, to sit down and eat a morsel of bread.—Recollecting, however, the prodigious efforts, and all the progress I had made, hope would again revive, and exhausted strength return ; again would I begin my labours, that I might preserve my secret and my expectations : yet has it frequently happened that

my visitors have entered a few minutes after I had reinstated every thing in its place.

When my work was within six or seven feet of being accomplished, a new misfortune happened, that at once frustrated all further attempts. I worked, as I have said, under the foundation of the rampart, near where the centinels stood. I could disencumber myself of my fetters, except my neck-collar and its pendent chain. This, as I worked, though it had been fastened, got loose, and the clanking was heard by one of the centinels about fifteen feet from my dungeon.

The officer was called, they laid their ears to the ground, and heard me as I went backward and forward to bring my earth bags. This was reported the next day, and the major, who was my best friend, with the town-major, and a smith and mason, entered my prison. I was terrified. The lieutenant, by a sign, gave me to understand I was discovered. An examination was begun, but the officers would not see, and the smith and mason found every thing, as they thought, safe. Had they examined my bed, they would have seen the ticking and sheets were gone.

The town major was a dull man, was persuaded the thing was impossible, and said to the centinel, "Blockhead! You have heard some mole under ground, and not Trenck. How, indeed, could it be that he should work under ground, at such a distance from his dungeon?" Here the scrutiny ended.

There was now no time for delay. Had they altered their hour of coming, they must have found me at work; but this, during ten years, never happened, for the governor and town-major were stupid men; and the others wishing me all success, were wilfully blind. In a few days I could have broken out; but, when ready, I was desirous to wait for the visitation day of the man who had treated me so tyrannically, Bruckhausen, that his own negligence might be evident. But this man, though he wanted understanding, did not want good fortune. He was ill for some time, and his duty devolved on K——.

He recovered, and the visitation being over, the doors were no sooner barred than I began my supposed last labour. I had only three feet farther to proceed, and it was no longer necessary I should bring out the sand, having room enough to throw it behind me. What my anxiety was, what my exertions were, may well be imagined. My evil genius, however, had decreed that the same centinel, who had heard me before, should be that day on guard. He was piqued, by vanity, to prove he was not the blockhead he had been called : he, therefore, again laid his ear to the ground and again heard me burrowing. He called his comrades first, next the major : he came, and heard me likewise ; accordingly they went without the palisadoes, and heard me working near the door, at which place I was to break into the gallery. This door they immediately opened, entered the gallery with lanthorns, and waited to catch the hunted fox, when unearthed.

Through the first small breach I made I perceived a light, and saw the heads of those who were expecting me. This was, indeed, a thunder stroke !—I crept back, made my way through the sand I had cast behind me, and waited my fate with shuddering ! I had still the presence of mind to conceal my pistols, candles, paper, and some money, under the floor, which I could remove.—The money was disposed of in various holes, well concealed, also between the pannels of the doors ; and under different cracks in the floor I hid my small files and knives.

Scarcely were my working utensils, paper, candles, and money properly secured, before the doors resounded ; the floor was covered with sand and sand bags ; my hand-cuffs, however, and the separating bar, I had hastily resumed, that they might suppose I had worked with them on ; which they were silly enough to credit, highly to my future advantage.

No man was more busy on this occasion than the brutal and stupid Bruckhausen, who put many interrogatories, to

which I made no reply, except assuring him that I should have completed my work some days sooner, had it not been his good fortune to fall sick ; and that this only had been the cause of my failure. The man was absolutely terrified with apprehension : he began to fear me, grew more polite, and even supposed nothing was impossible to me.

It was too late to remove the sand ; therefore the lieutenant and guard continued with me ; so that this night, at least, I did not want company. When the morning came, the hole was first filled and walled up ; the planking was renewed. The tyrant Borck was ill, and could not come, otherwise my treatment would have been still more lamentable. The smiths had ended before the evening, and the irons were heavier than ever. The foot chains, instead of being fastened as before, were screwed and rivetted ; all things else remained as formerly. They were employed in the flooring till the next day, so that I could not sleep ; and at last I sank down with weariness.

The greatest of my misfortunes was, they again deprived me of my bed, because I had cut it up for sand-bags. Before the doors were barred, Bruckhausen, and another major, examined my body very narrowly. They often had asked me where I concealed all my implements ? My answer was, " Gentlemen, Belzebub is my best and most intimate friend ; he brings me every thing I want, supplies me with light, we play whole nights at piquet ; and, guard me as you please, he will finally deliver me out of your power."

Some were astonished ; others laughed. At length, as they were barring the last door, I called " Come back, gentlemen ! you have forgotten something of great importance." In the interim I had taken up one of my hidden files. When they returned, " Look ye, gentlemen," said I, here is a proof of the friendship Belzebub has for me : he has brought me this in a twinkling." Again they examined, and again they shut the doors. While they were so doing,

I took out a knife and ten louis-d'ors ; called, and they returned grumbling curses : I then showed them the knife and the louis-d'ors. Their consternation was excessive ; and I diverted my misfortunes, by jesting at such blundering, short-sighted keepers. It was soon rumoured through Magdeburg, especially among the simple and the vulgar, that I was a magician, to whom the devil brought all I asked.

One major Holtzkammer, a very selfish man, profited by this report. A foolish citizen had offered him fifty dollars, if he might only be permitted to see me through the door ; being very desirous to have a peep at a wizard. Holtzkammer told me, and we jointly determined to sport with his credulity. The major gave me a mask, with a monstrous nose, which I put on when the doors were opening, and threw myself into an heroic attitude. The affrighted burger drew back ; but Holtzkammer stopped him, and said, " Have patience but for one quarter of an hour, and you shall see he will assume quite a different countenance." The burger waited, my mask was thrown by, and my face appeared whitened with chalk, and made ghastly. The burger again shrank back ; Holtzkammer kept him in conversation, and I assumed a third farcical form. I tied my hair under my nose, and a pewter dish to my breast, and when the door a third time opened, I thundered, " Begone, rascals, or I'll set your necks awry !" They both ran, and the silly burger, eased of his fifty dollars, scampered first.

The major in vain laid his injunctions on the burger never to reveal what he had beheld ; it being a breach of duty in him to admit any person whatever to the sight of me. In a few days, the necromancer Trenck was the theme of every ale house in Magdeburg ; and the person was named who had seen me change my form thrice in the space of one hour. Many false and ridiculous circumstances were added, and at last the story reached the governor's ears. The citizen was cited, and offered to take his oath to the truth of what himself and the major had seen. Holtzkammer accordingly

suffered a severe reprimand, and was some days put under arrest. We frequently laughed, however, at this adventure, which had rendered me so much the subject of conversation. Miraculous reports were the more easily credited, because no one could comprehend how, in despite of the load of irons I carried, and all the vigilance of my guards, I should be continually able to make new attempts, while those appointed to examine my dungeon seemed, as it were, blinded and bewildered. A proof this how easy it is to deceive the credulous, and whence have originated witchcraft, prophecies, and miracles.

My last undertaking had employed me more than twelve months, and so weakened me, that I appeared little better than a skeleton. Notwithstanding the greatness of my spirit, I should have sunken into despondency at seeing an end like this to all my labours, had I not still cherished a secret hope of escaping, founded on the friends I had gained among the officers.

I soon felt the effects of the loss of my bed, and was a second time attacked by a violent fever, which would this time certainly have consumed me, had not the officers, unknown to the governor, treated me with all possible compassion. Bruckhausen alone continued my enemy, and the slave of his orders : on his day of examination, rules and commands, in all their rigour, were observed ; nor durst I free myself from my irons, till I had for some weeks remarked those parts on which he invariably fixed his attention. I then cut through the link, and closed up the vacancy with bread. My hands I could always draw out, especially after illness had consumed the flesh off my bones. Half a year had elapsed before I had recovered sufficient strength to undertake, anew, labours like the past.

Necessity, at length, taught me the means of driving Bruckhausen from my dungeon, and of inducing him to commit his office to another. I learnt his olfactory nerves were somewhat delicate ; and whenever I heard the doors

unbar, I took care to make a stir in my night-table. This made him give back ; and at length he would come no farther than the door. Such are the hard expedients of a poor, unhappy prisoner ! One day he came bloated with pride, just after the courier had brought the news of victory, and spoke of the Austrians, and the august person of the empress-queen, with so much virulence, that at last, enraged almost to madness, I snatched the sword of an officer from its sheath, and should certainly have ended him, had he not made a hasty retreat. From that day forward he durst no more come without guards to examine the dungeon. Two men always preceded him, with their bayonets fixed and their pieces presented, behind whom he stood at the door. This was another fortunate incident, as I dreaded only his examination.

The following anecdote will afford a specimen of this man's understanding. While digging in the earth, I found a cannon ball, and laid it in the middle of my prison. When he came to examine—"What, in the name of God, is that?" said he. "It is a part of the ammunition," answered I, "that my familiar brings me. The cannon will be here anon, and you will then see fine sport !" He was astonished, told this to others ; nor could conceive such a ball might by any natural means enter my prison.

I wrote a satire on him, when the late landgrave of Hesse Cassel was governor of Magdeburg, and I had permission to write, as will hereafter appear : the landgrave gave it to him to read himself ; and so gross was his conception, that though his own phraseology was introduced, part of his history and his character painted, yet he did not perceive the jest, but laughed heartily with the hearers. The landgrave was highly diverted, and, after I obtained my freedom, restored me the manuscript, written in my own blood.

About the time that my last attempt at escaping failed, general Krusemarck came to my prison, whom I had formerly lived with in habits of intimacy, when cornet of the

body guard. Without testifying friendship, esteem, or compassion, he asked, among other things, in an authoritative tone, "how I could employ my time to prevent tediousness?" I answered in as haughty a mood as he interrogated; for never could misfortune bend my mind. I told him "I always could find sources of entertainment in my own thoughts, and that, as for my dreams, I imagined they would, at least, be as peaceful and pleasant as those of my oppressors."—"Had you, in time," replied he, "curbed this fervour of yours, had you asked pardon of the king, perhaps you would have been in very different circumstances; but he who has committed an offence in which he obstinately persists, endeavouring only to obtain freedom by seducing men from their duty, deserves no better fate."

Justly was my anger roused!—"Sir," answered I, "you are a general of the king of Prussia; I am an Austrian captain.—My royal mistress will protect, perhaps deliver me, or at least revenge my death. I have a conscience void of reproach. You yourself well know I have not deserved these chains. I place my hope in time, and the justness of my cause, calumniated and condemned as I have been without legal sentence or hearing. In such a situation the philosopher will always be able to brave and despise the tyrant."

He departed with threats; and his last words were—"The bird shall soon be taught to sing another tune."—The effects of this courteous visit were soon felt. An order came that I should be prevented sleeping, and that the centinels should call and wake me every quarter of an hour; which dreadful order was immediately executed. This was indeed a punishment intolerable to nature! Yet did custom, at length, teach me to answer in my sleep. Four years did this unheard-of cruelty continue! The noble landgrave of Hesse Cassel, at length put an end to it, a year before I was released from my dungeon, and once again, in mercy, suffered me to sleep in peace.

Under this new affliction I wrote an elegy, a few lines of which I shall cite.

Wake me, ye guards; for hark! the quarter strikes!
Sport with my woes, laugh loud at my miseries!
Hearken if you hear my chains clank! Knock! Beat!
Of an inexorable tyrant be ye
Th' inexorable instruments! Wake me, ye slaves;
Ye do but as you're bade. Soon shall he lie
Sleepless, or, dreaming, the spectres of conscience
Behold and shriek, who me deprives of rest.

Wake me! again the quarter strikes! Call loud!
Rip up all my bleeding wounds, and shrink not!
Yet think, 'tis I that answer, God that hears!
To every wretch in chains sleep is permitted:
I, I alone, am robb'd of this last refuge
Of sinking nature! Hark! Again they thunder!
Again they iterate yells of Trenck and death!

Peace to thy anger, peace, thou suffering heart!
Nor indignant beat, adding tenfold pangs to pain.

Ye burthened limbs, arise from momentary
Slumbers! Shake your chains! Murmur not, but rise!
And ye! Watch-dogs of power! let loose your rage:
Fear not, for I am helpless, unprotected.
And, yet, not so—The noble mind within
Itself, resources finds innumerable.
Thou, O God, thought'st good me t'imprison thus;
Thou, O God, in thy good time, wilt me deliver.

Wake me then, nor fear! My soul slumbers not,
And who can say but those who fetter me
May, ere to-morrow, groan themselves in fetters?
Wake me! for, lo! their sleep's less sweet than mine.
Call! Call! From night to morn, from twilight to dawn
Incessant! Yea, in God's name, Call! Call! Call!
Amen! Amen! Thy will, O God, be done!
Yet surely thou at length shalt hear my sighs!
Shalt burst my prison doors! Shalt show me fair
Creation! Yea, the very heav'n of heav'ns.

With whom these orders originated, unexampled in the history even of tyranny, I shall not venture to say. The major, who was my friend, advised me to persist in not answering. I followed his advice, and it produced this good effect, that we mutually forced each other to a capitulation; they restored me my bed, and I was obliged to reply.

Immediately after this regulation, the sub-governor, General Borck, my bitter enemy, became insane, was dispossessed of his post, and lieutenant-colonel Reichman, the benevolent friend of humanity, was made sub-governor.

About the same time the court fled from Berlin, and the queen, the Prince of Prussia, the princess Amelia, and the margrave Henry, chose Magdeburg for their residence. Bruckhausen grew more polite, probably perceiving I was not wholly deserted, and that it was yet possible I might obtain my freedom. The cruel are usually cowards, and there is reason to suppose Bruckhausen was actuated by his fears to treat me with greater respect.

The worthy new governor had not indeed the power to lighten my chains, or alter the general regulations : what he could he did. If he did not command, he connived at the doors being occasionally, at first, and, at length, daily kept open some hours, to admit day-light and fresh air. After a time they were open the whole day, and only closed by the officers when they returned from their visit to Walrabe.

Having light, I began to carve with a nail, on a pewter cup in which I drank, satirical verses, and various figures ; and attained so much perfection, that my cups at last were considered as master-pieces, both of engraving and invention, and were sold dear as rare curiosities. My first attempts were rude, as may well be imagined. My cup was carried to town, and shown to visitors by the governor, who sent me another. I improved, and each of the inspecting officers wished to possess one. I grew more expert, and spent a whole year in this employment, which thus passed swiftly away. The perfection I had now acquired obtained me the permission of candle-light ; and this continued till I was restored to freedom.

The king gave orders these cups should all be inspected by government, because I wished by my verses and devices to inform the world of my fate. But this command was not

obeyed ; the officers made merchandise of my cups, and sold them at last for twelve ducats each. Their value increased so much, when I was released from prison, that they are now to be found in various museums throughout Europe. Twelve years ago the late landgrave of Hesse-Cassel presented one of them to my wife ; and another came, in a very unaccountable manner, from the queen-dowager of Prussia to Paris. I have given prints of both these, with the verses they contained, in my works ; whence it may be seen how artificially they were engraved. A third fell into the hands of prince Augustus Lobkowitz, then a prisoner of war at Magdeburg, who, on his return to Vienna, presented it to the emperor, who placed it in his museum. Among other devices on this cup, was a landscape, representing a vineyard and husbandmen ; and under it the following words : *By my labours my vineyard flourished, and I hoped to have gathered the fruit ; but Ahab came, alas ! for Naboth.*

The allusion was so pointed, both to the wrongs done me in Vienna, and my sufferings in Prussia, that it made a very strong impression on the empress-queen, who immediately commanded her minister to make every exertion for my deliverance. She would, probably, at last, have even restored me to my estates, had not the possessors of them been so powerful, or, had she herself lived one year longer. To these my engraved cups was I indebted for being once more remembered at Vienna. On the same cup also was another engraving of a bird in a cage, held by a Turk, with the following inscription : *The bird sings even in the storm ; open his cage, break his fetters, ye friends of virtue, and his songs shall be the delight of your abodes !*

There is another remarkable circumstance attending these cups. All were forbidden under pain of death, to hold conversation with me, or to supply me with pen and ink ; yet, by this open permission of writing what I pleased on pewter, was I enabled to inform the world of all I wished,

and to prove a man of merit was oppressed. The difficulties of this engraving will be conceived, when it is remembered that I worked by candle-light on shining pewter, attained the art of giving light and shade, and, by practice, could divide a cup into two-and-thirty compartments, as regularly with a stroke of the hand as with a pair of compasses. The writing was so minute, that it could be only read with glasses. I could use but one hand, both being separated by the bar, and therefore held the cup between my knees. My sole instrument was a sharpened nail ; yet did I write two lines on the rim only.

My labour became so excessive, that I was in danger of distraction or blindness. Every body wished for cups, and I wished to oblige every body ; so that I worked eighteen hours a day. The reflection of the light from the pewter was injurious to my eyes, and the labour of invention, for apposite subjects and verses, was most fatiguing. I had learned only architectural drawing.

Enough of these cups, which procured me so much honour, so many advantages, and helped to shorten so many mournful hours. My greatest incumbrance was the huge iron collar, with its enormous appendages, which, when suffered to press the arteries in the back of my neck, occasioned intolerable head-aches. I sat too much, and a third time fell sick. A Brunswick sausage, secretly given me by a friend, occasioned an indigestion, which endangered my life ; a putrid fever followed, and my body was reduced to a skeleton. Medicines however were conveyed to me by the officers, and, now and then, warm food. After my recovery I again thought it necessary to endeavour to regain my liberty. I had but forty louis d'ors remaining, and these I could not get till I had first broken up the flooring.

Lieutenant Sonntag was consumptive, and obtained his discharge. I supplied him with money to defray the expences of his journey, and with an order that four hundred florins should be annually paid him from my effects, till his

death or my release. I commissioned him to seek an audience from the empress, endeavour to excite her compassion in my behalf, and to remit me four thousand florins, for which I gave a proper acquittance, by the way of Hamburg. The money-draft was addressed to my administrators, counsellors Kempf and Huttner.

But no one, alas, in Vienna wished my return ; they had already begun to share my property, of which they never rendered me an account. Poor Sonntag was arrested as a spy, imprisoned, ill-treated for some weeks, and, at last, when naked and destitute, received a hundred florins, and was escorted beyond the Austrian confines. The worthy man fell a shameful sacrifice to his honesty, could never obtain an audience of the empress, and returned poor and miserable, on foot to Berlin, where he was twelve months secretly maintained by his brother, and with whom he died. He wrote an account of all this to the good Knoblauch, my Hamburg agent, and I, from my small store, sent him a hundred ducats.

How much must I despair of finding any place of refuge on earth, hearing accounts like these from Vienna !

A friend whom I will never name by the aid of one of the lieutenants, secretly visited me and supplied me with six hundred ducats. The same friend, in the year 1768, paid four thousand florins to the imperial envoy, Baron Reidt, at Berlin, for the furthering of my freedom, as I shall presently more fully show. Thus I had once more money.

About this time the French army advanced to within five miles of Magdeburg. This important fortress was at that time the key of the whole Prussian power. It required a garrison of sixteen thousand men, and contained not more than fifteen hundred. The French might have marched in unopposed, and at once have put an end to the war. The officers brought me all the news, and my hopes rose as they approached.—What was my astonishment when the major informed me, that three waggons had entered the town in

the night, had been sent back loaded with money, and that the French were retreating! This I can assure my readers, on my honour, is literally truth, to the eternal disgrace of the French general. The major, who informed me, was himself an eye-witness of the fact. It was pretended the money was for the army of the king, but every body could guess whither it was going; it left the town without a convoy, and the French were then in the neighbourhood. Such were the allies of Maria Theresa! The receivers of his money are known in Paris. Not only were my hopes this way frustrated, but in Russia likewise, where the countess of Bestuchef and the chancellor were fallen into disgrace.

I now imagined another, and indeed a fearful and dangerous project. The garrison of Magdeburg, at this moment consisted but of nine hundred militia, who were discontented men. Two majors and two lieutenants were in my interest. The guard of the Star-Fort amounted but to a hundred and fifteen men. Fronting the gate of this fort was the town gate, guarded only by twelve men and an inferior officer; beside these lay the casemate, in which were as-ven thousand Croat prisoners. Baron K——y, a captain, and prisoner of war, also was in our interest, and would hold his comrades ready, at a certain place and time, to support my undertaking. Another friend was, under some pretence, to hold his company ready, with their muskets loaded; and the plan was such, that I should have had four hundred men in arms to carry it into execution.

The officer was to have placed the two men we most suspected and feared as centinels over me; he was to command them to take away my bed, and, when encumbered, I was to spring out, and shut them in the prison. Clothing and arms were to have been procured and brought me into my prison; the town gate was to have been surprised; I was to have run to the casemate, and called to the Croats, "Trenck! To arms!" My friends, at the same instant, were to break forth, and the plan was so well concerted that

it could not have failed. Magdeburg, the magazine of the army, the royal treasury, arsenal, all would have been mine; and sixteen thousand men, who were the prisoners of war, would have enabled me to keep possession.

The most essential secret, by which all this was to have been effected, I dare not reveal; suffice it to say, every thing was provided for, every thing secure; I shall only add that the garrison, in the harvest months, was exceedingly weakened, because the farmers paid the captains a florin per man each a day, and the men for their labour likewise, to obtain hands. The sub-governor connived at the practice.

One lieutenant G—— procured a furlough to visit his friends; but, supplied by me with money, he went to Vienna. I furnished him with a letter addressed to counsellors Kempf and Huttner, including a draft for two thousand ducats; wherein I said, that, by these means, I should not only soon be at liberty, but in possession of the fortress of Magdeburg; and that the bearer was entrusted with the rest.

The lieutenant came safe to Vienna, underwent a thousand interrogatories, and his name was repeatedly asked. This fortunately he concealed. They advised him not to be concerned in so dangerous an undertaking; told him I had not so much money due to me, and gave him, instead of two thousand ducats, one thousand florins. With these he left Vienna, but with very prudent suspicions, which prevented him ever more returning to Magdeburg. A month had scarcely passed before the late landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, then chief governor, entered my prison, showed me my letter, and demanded to know who had carried the letter, and who were to free me, and betray Magdeburg? Whether the letter was sent immediately to the king or the governor, I know not; it is sufficient that I was once more betrayed at Vienna. The truth was, the administrators of my effects had acted as if I were deceased, and did not choose to re-

fund two thousand ducats. They wished not I should obtain my freedom in a manner that would have obliged the government to reward me, and restore the effects they had embezzled, and the estates they had seized. What happened afterwards in Vienna, which will be related in its place, will incontestably prove this surmise to be well founded.

These bad men did not, it is true, die in the manner they ought ; but they all are dead, and I am still living, and like an honest, though poor man ; so did not they die. Be this read and remembered by their luxurious heirs, who refuse to restore to my children their rights.

My consternation on the appearance of the landgrave, with my letter in his hand, may well be supposed. I had the presence of mind, however, to deny my hand-writing, and affect astonishment at so crafty a trick. The landgrave endeavoured to convict me, told me what lieutenant Kemnitz had repeated at Vienna, concerning my possessing myself of Magdeburg, and thereby showed me how fully I had been betrayed. But as no such person existed as lieutenant Kemnitz, and as my friend had fortunately concealed his name, the mystery remained impenetrable, especially as no one could conceive how a prisoner, in my situation, could seduce or subdue the whole garrison. The worthy prince left my prison, apparently satisfied with my defence ; his heart felt no satisfaction in the misfortune of others.

The next day a formal examination was taken, at which the sub-governor, Reichmann, presided. I was accused as a traitor to my country ; but I obstinately denied my hand-writing. Proofs or witnesses there were none ; and, in answer to the principal charge, I said, " I was no criminal, but a man calumniated, illegally imprisoned, and loaded with irons ; that the king, in the year 1746, had cashiered me, and confiscated my parental inheritance ; that therefore the laws of nature enforced me to seek honour and bread in a foreign service ; and that, finding these in Austria, I was

become an officer and a faithful subject of the empress-queen ; that I had been a second time unoffendingly imprisoned ; that here I was treated as the worst of malefactors, and that my only resource was to seek my liberty, by such means as I could : were I, therefore, in this attempt, to destroy the very town of Magdeburg, and occasion the loss of a thousand lives, I should still be guiltless. Had I been heard, and legally sentenced, previous to my imprisonment at Glatz, I should have been, and have continued a criminal ; but not having been guilty of any small, much less of any great crime, equal to my punishment, if such crime could be, I was, therefore, not accountable for consequences : I owed neither fidelity nor duty to the king of Prussia ; for, by the word of his power, he had deprived me of bread, honour, country, and freedom.”

Here the examination ended, without farther discovery : the officers, however, falling under suspicion, were all removed, and thus I lost my best friends ; yet it was not long before I had gained two others, which was no difficult matter, as I knew the national character, and that none but poor men were made militia officers. Thus was the governor's precaution fruitless ; and every body secretly wished I might obtain my freedom.

I shall never forget the noble manner in which I was treated on this occasion by the landgrave. This I personally acknowledged, some years afterward, in the city of Cassel, when I heard many things which confirmed all my surmises concerning Vienna. The landgrave received me with all grace, favour, and distinction. I revere his memory, and seek to honour his name. He was the friend of misfortune. When I, not long afterward, fell ill, he sent me his own physician, and meat from his table ; nor would he suffer me, during two months, to be waked by the centinels. He likewise removed the dreadful collar from my neck ; for which he was severely reprimanded by the king, as he himself has since assured me.

I might fill a volume with incidents attending two other efforts to escape ; but I will not weary the reader's patience with too much repetition. I shall merely give an abstract of both.

When I had once more gained the officers, I made a new attempt at mining my way out. Not wanting for implements, my chains and the flooring were soon cut through ; and all was so carefully replaced, I was under no fear of examination. I here found my concealed money, pistols, and other necessities ; but, till I had rid myself of some hundred weight of sand, it was impossible to proceed. For this purpose I made two different openings in the floor : out of the real hole I threw a great quantity of sand into my prison ; after which I closed it with all possible care. I then worked at the second with so much noise, that I was certain they must hear me without. About midnight the doors began to thunder, and in they came, detecting me, as I intended they should. None of them could conceive why I should wish to break out under the door, where there was a triple guard to pass. The centinels remained, and in the morning prisoners were sent to wheel away the sand. The hole was walled up and boarded, and my fetters were renewed. They laughed at the ridiculousness of my undertaking, but punished me by depriving me of my light and bed ; which, however, in a fortnight, were both restored. Of the other hole, out of which most of the earth had been thrown, no one was aware. The major and lieutenant were too much my friends to remark that they had removed thrice the quantity of sand the false opening could contain. They supposed this strange attempt having failed, it would be my last ; and Bruckhausen grew negligent.

The governor and sub-governor both visited me, after some weeks ; but, far from imitating the brutality of Borek, the landgrave spoke to me with great mildness, promised me his interest to regain my freedom, when the peace should be concluded ; told me I had more friends than I might

suppose, and assured me I had not been quite forgotten by the court of Vienna. The manner in which I answered him moved him to the soul : in vain he endeavoured to hide his tears ; while I, in a moment of exquisite sensibility, fell at his feet, rose, and pleaded like Cicero, happy to have met with a prince who thought and felt like a man.

He promised me every alleviation ; and I gave him my word of honour I would never more attempt to escape while he remained governor. The manner in which I spoke enforced conviction ; and it was then that he ordered my neck-collar to be taken off, my window to be unclosed, my doors every day to be left two hours open, a stove, which I might light myself, to be put in my dungeon, finer linen for my shirts, and paper to amuse myself, by writing down my thoughts. The sheets of paper were to be numbered, when given, and when returned, by the town major, that I might not abuse this liberty.

Ink was not allowed me. I therefore pricked my finger, suffered the blood to trickle into a pot, and, when coagulated, warmed it again in my hand, throwing away the fibrous parts that would not liquify ; by this means I procured a succedaneum for ink both to write and draw.

I now busied myself with engraving my cups, and versifying. I had free opportunity to display such abilities as I possessed, to excite esteem, and awaken compassion. My emulation was increased by the knowledge that my productions were seen and read at courts, and that the princess Amelia, and the queen herself, testified their satisfaction. I had soon subjects to engrave from sent me ; and the wretch whom the king intended to immure, and bury alive, whose name no man was to mention, never lived to better purpose, nor was more famous, than while he vented his groans in this dungeon. My writings produced their effect, and in reality regained my freedom. To my cultivation of the sciences, and presence of mind in danger, am I indebted for all : these could not all the power of Frederic deprive

me of; by these I obtained that which he, in his wrath, and the might of his despotism, had intended to take from me eternally! Yes! this liberty I procured, though he continually answered all petitions in my behalf—"He is a dangerous man; and so long as I have life he shall never see the light!" Yet have I seen it, as broadly as himself, during his life; after his death, I have seen it without revenging myself, otherwise than by proving my innocence and virtue to a monarch, who oppressed because he knew me not, because he would not recall the hasty sentence of anger, or own it was *possible* he might be mistaken. No! in my writings I have sought only to appease him, to justify and prove the *greatness* of his soul! He died convinced of my integrity, yet without affording me retribution! Perhaps he recollected my sufferings, and knew retribution was impossible. Enough! If so it can be, peace be to his ashes? Man is formed by misfortune; virtue is active in adversity. Perhaps had I lived in uninterrupted happiness, posterity would have heard little of my name. It is indifferent to me, that the companions of my youth have their ears gratified, delighted, with the titles of general! field marshal! I have learned to live without such additions. I am known in my works. Hence has it often been asked, Why is not he also a minister or a general? Blessed content! Thee have I learned to taste, unalloyed by pride! Repose, thrice blessed, thee do I enjoy, in the haven of the wise, after storms and horrors past! May my history, my example, console the afflicted, strike terror to the guilty, bridle youth's impetuosity, and inspire the suffering with fortitude!

I return to my dungeon. Here, after my last conference with the landgrave, I waited my coming fate, with a mind more at ease than that of many a prince in his palace. My dawn of hope daily grew more bright. The newspapers they brought me foretold approaching peace, on which all my dependance was placed, and I passed eighteen months calmly, and without further attempt.

The father of the landgrave died ; he had till then been only hereditary prince ; and Magdeburg now lost its noble governor. The worthy Reichman, however, testified for me all compassion and esteem : I had books ; my time was employed, and therefore stole unperceived away. Imprisonment and chains to me were become habitual ; and Freedom, in all her lovely forms, sleeping and awake, in hope approached.

About this time I wrote the poems, found in my works, called "the Macedonian Hero," "the Dream Realised," and the Fables contained in the first volume, most of which have reference to myself. The most, and the best of my poems are now lost to me. The mind's sensibility when the body is imprisoned is strongly roused, nor can all the aids of the library equal this advantage. Perhaps I may recover some of them in Berlin ; if so, the world may learn what my thoughts then were. When I was set at liberty, I had none but such as I remembered, and these I committed to writing. On my first personal visit to the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, I received a volume of them, written in my own blood ; but there were certainly eight of these, which I shall scarcely ever regain.

The death of Elizabeth, the deposing of Peter III. and the accession of Catharine II. produced peace. On the receipt of this intelligence, I endeavoured to provide for all possible contingencies. The worthy captain K — had opened me a correspondence with Vienna : I was assured of support ; but was likewise assured the administrators, and those who possessed my estates, would throw every possible impediment in the way of freedom. I endeavoured to persuade another officer to aid my escape, but in vain : no second Schell was to be found. The will consented, but the heart recoiled.

I therefore opened my old hole, and my friends assisted me all in their power, further to disembarass myself of sand. My money melted away, but they provided me with tools,

gun-powder, and a good sword. I had remained so long quiet that my flooring was no more examined.

My intent was to wait the peace ; and, should I still continue in chains, then would I have my subterranean passage to the rampart ready for escape. For my further security, an old lieutenant had, with my money, purchased a house in the suburbs, where I might lie concealed. Gummern in Saxony is two miles from Magdeburg : here a friend, with two good horses, was to wait a whole year, to ride on the glacis of Klosterbergen, on the first and fifteenth of each month, and, at a given signal, to hasten to my assistance.

My passage was to be ready in case of emergency ; I therefore removed the upper planking, broke up the two under beds, cut the boards into chips, and burnt them in my stove. By this I obtained so much additional room as to proceed half way with my mine. Linen again was brought me, sand bags made, and thus I successfully proceeded to all but the last operation. Every thing was afterwards so well closed and concealed, that I had nothing to fear from the narrowest inspection, sufficient of the under flooring being left to support the upper, and it appeared doubly nailed as before, to avoid suspicion, especially as the new-come garrison could not know what was the original length of the planks.

This severe labour reduced me again to a very feeble state of body ; and, by the return of the regulars, I in a moment was deprived of all my friends.

I must in this place relate a dreadful accident, which I cannot even now remember, without shuddering, and the terror of which has often haunted my very dreams.

While mining under the foundation of the rampart, just as I was going to carry out the sand-bag, I struck my foot against a stone in the wall above, which fell down and closed up the passage.

What was my horror to find myself thus buried alive ! After a short time for reflexion, I began to work the sand

away from the side, that I might obtain room to turn round. By good fortune, there were some feet of empty space, into which I threw the sand as I worked it away ; but the small quantity of air soon made it so foul, that I a thousand times wished myself dead, and made several attempts to strangle myself. Further labour began to seem impossible. Thirst almost deprived me of my senses, but as often as I put my mouth to the sand, I inhaled fresh air. My sufferings were incredible, and I imagined I passed full eight hours in this distraction of horror. Of all dreadful deaths, surely such a death as this is the most dreadful. My spirits fainted ; again I somewhat recovered, again I began to labour, but the earth was as high as my chin ; and I had no more space into which I might throw the sand, that I might turn round. I made a more desperate effort, drew my body into a ball, and turned round ; I now faced the stone, which was as wide as the whole passage, but there being an opening at the top, I respired fresher air. My next labour was to root away the sand under the stone, and let it sink, so that I might creep over, and, by this means, at length, I once more happily arrived in my dungeon !

The morning was advanced ; I sat myself down so exhausted, that I supposed it was impossible I had time or strength to cover up and conceal my hole. After half an hour's rest, however, my fortitude returned : again I went to work, and scarcely had I ended, before the resounding locks and bolts told the approach of my visitors.

They found me pale as death : I complained of the headache, and continued some days so much affected by the fatigue I had sustained, that I began to imagine my lungs were impaired. After a time, health and strength returned, but, perhaps of all my nights of horror, this was the most horrible. I long repeatedly dreamed I was buried alive in the centre of the earth ; and now, though three and twenty years are elapsed, my sleep is still haunted by this vision.

After this accident, whenever I worked in my cavity, I

hung a knife round my neck, that, in case I should be again so inclosed, I might shorten my miseries. Over the stone that had fallen, were several others that hung tottering, under which I was several hundred times obliged to creep. Nothing could deter me from endeavouring to obtain my liberty !

When my passage was ready, so that I could break out when I pleased, I wrote various letters to my friends at Vienna, and also an impassioned memorial to my sovereign. When the militia left Magdeburg, and the regulars returned, I took an affecting leave of my friends who had behaved to me with so much humanity, and so benevolently supplied my wants. Several weeks elapsed before they departed, and I learnt that general Riedt was appointed ambassador from Vienna to Berlin.

I had seen the world ; I knew this general was not averse to a bribe ; I wrote him a moving letter, conjuring him not to abandon me, and to act with perhaps more ardour in my behalf than his instructions might imply. I inclosed a draft for six thousand florins, on my effects at Vienna, and he received four thousand more from one of my relations. I have to thank these ten thousand florins for my freedom, which I obtained nine months after. My vouchers show the six thousand florins were paid in April 1763, to the order of general Reidt. The other four thousand I thankfully repaid, when at liberty, to my friend.

I received intelligence, before the garrison departed, that no stipulation had been made on my behalf, at the peace of Hubertsberg*. The Vienna plenipotentiaries, after, and not before, the articles were signed, mentioned my name to Hertzberg, but with little earnestness of solicitation. From Berlin indeed I received private assurances of every effort

* The release of Trenck was so feebly mentioned, by the Austrian plenipotentiary, that Hertzberg, the Prussian minister, took not the least notice of the affair.

being made to move Frederic, a promise on which I could much better rely than on my protectors at Vienna, who so many years had left me in misfortune. I therefore determined to wait three months longer, and, should I find myself neglected, to owe my escape to myself.

On the change of the garrison, the officers, being all of the nobility, were much more difficult to gain than the former. The majors literally obeyed their orders: their help was unnecessary; but still I sighed for my old friends. I had only ammunition bread again for food, as no one supplied me with the least comfortable addition.

My time hung very heavy; every thing was carefully examined on the change of the garrison. A still stricter scrutiny might occur, and all my projects be discovered. This had nearly been effected by accident, as I shall here relate. I had, two years before, so tamed a mouse that it would play round me, and eat from my mouth: in this small animal I discovered proofs of intelligence too great to easily gain belief: were I to write them, priests would rail, monks grumble, and such philosophers as suppose man alone endowed with the power of thought, allowing nothing but what they call instinct to animals, would proclaim me a fabulous writer, and my opinions heterodox to what they suppose sound philosophy. Should I live, perhaps I may hereafter publish an essay on this subject, in which this my mouse and a spider, will appear as remarkable characters.

This intelligent mouse had nearly been my ruin. I had diverted myself with it during the night; it had been nibbling at my door, and capering on a trencher. The centinels happened to hear our amusement, called the officers; they heard also, and added all was not right in my dungeon. At day-break, my doors resounded; the town-major, a smith, and mason entered: strict search was begun; flooring, walls, chains, and my own person, were all scrutinised, but in vain. They asked me what was the noise they heard: I mentioned the mouse, whistled, and it came and jumped

upon my shoulder. Orders were given I should be deprived of its society ; I earnestly intreated they would at least spare its life. The officer on guard gave me his word of honour he would present it to a lady who would treat it with the utmost tenderness.

He took it away, and turned it loose in the guard-room, but it was tame to me alone, and sought a hiding-place. It had fled to my prison-door, and, at the hour of visitation, ran into my dungeon, immediately testifying its joy by its antic leaping between my legs. It is worthy remark that it had been taken away blindfold, that is to say, wrapped in a handkerchief. The guard-room was near a hundred paces from my dungeon. How then did it find its master ? Did it know, or did it wait for the hour of visitation ? Had it remarked that the doors were daily opened ?

All were desirous of obtaining this mouse, but the major carried it off for his lady ; she put it into a cage, where it pined, refused all sustenance, and, in a few days, was found dead.

The loss of this little companion made me, for some time, quite melancholy, yet, on the last examination, I perceived it had so eaten away the bread, by which I had concealed the crevices I had made in cutting the floor, that the examiners must be all but blind not to discover them. I was convinced my faithful little friend had fallen a necessary victim to its master's safety. My keepers were persuaded I had neither the will nor the power to make further attempts at freedom. This accident, however, determined me not to wait even the three months.

I have already related horses were to be kept ready, on the first and fifteenth ; and I only suffered the first of August to pass, because I would not injure the worthy major Pfuhl, who had treated me with more compassion than his comrades, and whose day of visitation it was. On the fifteenth I determined to fly. This resolution formed, I waited in

anxious expectation of the day, when a new, and again most remarkable succession of accidents happened.

An alarm of fire had obliged the major of the day to repair in haste to the town ; he, therefore, committed the keys to the lieutenant. The latter, coming to visit me, with a look of compassion asked—" Dear Trenck, have you never, during seven years that you have been under the guard of the militia, found a man like Schell?" " Alas ! sir," answered I, " such friends are indeed rare ; the will of many has been good : each knew I could make his fortune ; but none had courage enough for so desperate an attempt. Money I have distributed freely, but have received little help."

" Money !—how do you obtain money in this dungeon ?"—" From a secret correspondent at Vienna, by whom I am still supplied. If I can serve you, command me : I will do it willingly, without asking any return." So saying, I immediately took fifty ducats from between the pannels, and gave them to the lieutenant. At first he refused, but at length accepted them with fear.—He left me, promised to return, pretended to shut the door, and kept his word. He now avowed that debt obliged him to desert ; that this had long been his determination ; and that, desirous to assist me, at the same time, if he could find the means, I had only to show how this might be effected.

We continued two hours in conference ; a plan was soon formed, approved, and almost a certainty of success demonstrated ; especially, when I told him I had two horses in waiting. We vowed eternal friendship, I gave him fifty additional ducats, and he had never before been so rich ; his whole debts, which would oblige him to desert, not amounting to more than two hundred rix-dollars, which, however, he never could have discharged out of his pay.

He was to prepare four keys, that were to resemble those of my dungeon : the latter were to be exchanged on the day of flight, being kept in the guard-room while the major was

with general Walrabe. He was to give the grenadiers on guard leave of absence for some hours, or send them into the town on various pretences. The centinels at the gate he was to call from their duty, and those placed over me were to be sent into my dungeon, to take away my bed : while encumbered with this, I was to spring out, and lock them in, after which we were to mount our horses, which were kept ready, and ride full speed to Gummern. Every thing was to be prepared within a week, when he was again to mount guard. We had scarcely fully formed our project before the centinels called, the major was coming ; he, accordingly, hastily barred up the doors, and the major passed to general Walrabe.

No man now was happier than myself, in a dungeon though I was : my hopes of escape were triple ; the mediation at Berlin, the mine I had made, and my new friend the lieutenant.

Intoxicated with hope and joy, then, when I most ought to have been cool and clear, I seemed to have lost my understanding. I came to a resolution which will appear, to every reasonable man, extravagant, absurd, and pitiable. I was vain enough, stupid enough, mad enough, to form the design of casting myself on the generosity and magnanimity of the *Great Frederic!*—Should this fail, I still thought my lieutenant a certain saviour.

Having heated my imagination with this lamentable scheme, I expected the hour of visitation with anxiety. The major entered ; I bespoke him thus :

“ I know, sir, the great prince Ferdinand is again in Magdeburg.” (My new friend had told me this.) “ Be pleased to inform him that he may first examine my prison, double the centinels, and afterward give me his commands, stating at what hour it will please him I should make my appearance, in perfect freedom, on the glacis of Klosterbergen. If I prove myself capable of this, I then hope for the protection of prince Ferdinand ; and that he will relate

my proceeding to the king, who may thereby be convinced of my innocence, and the perfect clearness of my conscience."

The major was astonished ; supposed my brain turned. The proposal he held to be ridiculous, and the performance impossible. I, however, persisted ; he rode to town, and returned with the sub-governor, Reichmann ; the town-major, Riding ; and the major of inspection. The answer they delivered was—That the prince promised me his protection, the king's favour, and a certain release from my chains, should I prove the truth of my assertion. I required they would appoint a time ; they ridiculed the thing as impossible, and, at last, said that it would be sufficient could I only prove the practicability of such a scheme ; but, should I refuse, they would immediately break up the whole flooring, and place centinels in my dungeon night and day ; adding, the governor would not admit of any actual breaking out.

After the most solemn promises of good faith, I immediately disencumbered myself of my chains, raised up my flooring, gave them my arms and implements, and also two keys, that my friends had procured me, to the doors of the subterranean gallery. This gallery I desired them to enter, and sound, with their sword hilts, at the place through which I was to break, which might be done in a few minutes. I further described the road I was to take through the gallery, informed them that two of the doors had not been shut for six months, and to the others they already had the keys ; adding, I had horses waiting at the glacis, that would be immediately ready, the stables for which were unknown to them.

They went, examined, returned, put questions, which I answered with as much precision as the engineer could have done who built the Star-Fort. They left me with seeming friendship, continued away about an hour, came back, told me the prince was astonished at what he had heard ; that he wished me all happiness, and then took me, unfettered, to the guard-house. The major came in the

evening, treated us with a sumptuous supper, assured me every thing would happen to my wishes, and that prince Ferdinand had already written to Berlin.

The guard was reinforced the next day : two grenadiers entered the officer's room as centinels. The whole guard loaded with ball before my eyes, the draw-bridges were raised in open day, and precautions were taken as if it was supposed I intended to make attempts as desperate as those I had made at Glatz.

I now saw numerous workmen employed on my dungeon, and carts bringing quarry-stones. The officers on guard behaved with great kindness, kept a good table, at which I ate ; but two centinels, and an under-officer, never quitted the guard-room. Conversation was very cautious, and this continued five or six days ; at length, it was my new friend the lieutenant's turn to mount guard ; he appeared to be as friendly as formerly, but conference was difficult : he however found an opportunity to express his astonishment at my ill-timed discovery, told me the prince knew nothing of the affair, and that the report propagated through the garrison was, I had been surprised in making a new attempt.

I now saw my error, but, alas ! too late. I assured my friend this step had been occasioned by my reliance on his promise. He lamented my mistake, but affirmed himself still the same. My courage strengthened, and I vowed vengeance against the mean conduct of the sub-governor.

My dungeon was completed in about a week. The town-major and major of the day, re-conducted me to it. My foot only was chained to the wall, but with links twice as strong as formerly ; the remainder of my irons were never after added.

Instead of flooring, the dungeon was paved with huge flag-stones. The prison was made impenetrable. That part of my money only was saved, which I had concealed in the pannels of the door, and the chimney of the stove ; some thirty louis-d'ors hidden about my clothes were taken from me.

While the smith was rivetting my chains, I addressed myself to the sub-governor ; “ Is this the consequence of the pledged honour of the prince ? Has the magnanimity of my conduct deserved such treatment ? But think not you deceive me ; I am acquainted with the false reports that have been spread ; the truth will soon come to light, and the unworthy be put to shame. Nay, I now forewarn you that Trenck shall not be much longer in your power ; for, were you to build your dungeon of steel, it would still be insufficient to contain me.”

They smiled at my threats. Reichmann, however, desired me to take courage, and said I might, probably, soon obtain my freedom after a proper manner. My firm reliance on my friend, the lieutenant, gave me, instead of appearing sunken and despondent, a degree of confidence that amazed them all.

It is here necessary farther to explain this affair. When I had obtained my liberty, I visited prince Ferdinand at Brunswick. He informed me the majors had not made a true report, being afraid of reprimand for their own carelessness. Their story was, they had caught me at work, and had it not been for their extreme diligence, I should certainly have made my escape. Prince Ferdinand heard the truth some time after, and informed the king, who, from that time, only waited a favourable opportunity to restore me to liberty.

Such is the way of the world ! Such the manner in which the most generous, the most noble acts are often painted ! I was, in this case, the silly sacrifice of my own vanity. Those who guarded me were ashamed of their neglect, and, to avoid reprimand, which would not effectually have injured any of them, was I again led to my slaughter-house. Such has been the issue through my whole life, of many noble undertakings, where others have taken advantage of my too great openness of heart, and procured reward to themselves by my labours.

Once more was I immured, cursing in my heart the

cruelties of kings and governors : this time, however, they were innocent, because deceived.

I waited in anxious hope for the day when my deliverer was to mount guard. What again was my despair, when, instead of him, I saw another lieutenant ! I buoyed myself up with the expectation that accident was the occasion of this, but I remained three weeks in the same suspense, and saw him no more. Ask, I durst not : but I heard at length that he had left the corps of grenadiers, and, therefore, was no longer to mount guard at the Star-Fort. Whether he was afraid, and repented his engagement, or whether the hundred ducats had procured him better prospects, I neither knew nor ever wish to know. Should he ever read this book, and should he really have deceived me, let him also read that he has my hearty forgiveness, and that I applaud myself for never having said any thing by which he might be injured. Others, perhaps, being thus deserted by him in misfortune, after so many protestations, and condescending to receive money, would have been more revengeful. He might, having paid his debts, repent his promise ; he might have trusted another friend with the enterprise, and have been himself betrayed ; but be it as it may, his absence cut off all hope.

I bitterly now repented my folly and untimely vanity ; melancholy seized my mind ; I had brought my misfortunes on myself. When I had removed every impediment, the confidence I placed in the honour of man again plunged me near six months longer in affliction, doubled by despair. I had myself rendered my dungeon impenetrable. Death would have followed, but for the dependence I placed in the court of Vienna.

The officers soon remarked the loss of my accustomed fortitude, and gloomy thoughtfulness. I was less industrious on my cups ; the verses I wrote were desponding. The only comfort they could give was, " Patience, dear Trenck : your condition cannot be worse ; the king may not live for ever." Small consolation this. Were I sick,

they told me I then might hope my sufferings would soon have an end. If I recovered, they pitied me, and lamented their continuance. What man of my rank and expectations ever endured what I have endured, ever was treated as I have been treated !

Peace had been concluded nine months. I was forgotten. At last, however, when I supposed all hopes lost, the 24th of December, and the day of freedom came ! At the hour of parade count Schlieben, lieutenant of the guards, arrived, and brought orders for my release !

The sub-governor supposed me weaker in intellect than I really was, and would not too suddenly tell me these happy tidings. He knew not the presence of mind, the fortitude, which the various dangers I had seen had made habitual. Self-praise offends ; yet never was I too much elated in prosperity, or depressed in adversity ; never timid or undetermined in the moment of danger ; and for the truth of this I appeal to all who have known me personally, or been acquainted with those who have seen me in such situations.

My doors, for the LAST TIME, resounded ! Several people entered ; their countenances were more than usually cheerful ; and the sub-governor at their head, at length said, “ This time, my dear Trenck, I am the joyful messenger of good news. Prince Ferdinand has prevailed on the king to let your irons be taken off.”—Accordingly to work went the smith—“ You shall also,” continued he, “ have a better apartment.”—“ I am free, then,” said I, “ and you are afraid to tell me so too suddenly. Speak ! fear not ! I can moderate my transports.”—

“ Then you are free !” was the reply.

The sub-governor first embraced me, and afterwards his attendants.

He asked me what clothes I would wish. I answered the uniform of my regiment. The taylor attended ; and took measure. Reichmann told him it must be made by the morning. The man excused himself because it was Christmas-eve.—“ So then this gentleman must remain in his dun-

geon, because it is holiday with you." The taylor was answered, and promised to be ready.

The smith having ended his work, I was taken to the guard-room : congratulations were universal, and the town-major administered the oath customary to all state prisoners.

1st. That I should avenge myself on no man.

2dly. That I should neither enter the Prussian nor Saxon states.

3dly. That I should never relate, by speech, or in writing, what had happened to me.

4thly. And that, so long as the king lived, I should neither serve in a civil nor military capacity.

Count Schlieben delivered me a letter from the imperial minister, general Reidt, in Berlin, to the following purport : That he was heartily rejoiced at having found an opportunity of obtaining my liberty from the king, and that I must cheerfully obey the requisitions of count Schlieben, whose orders were to accompany me to Prague.

" Yes, dear Trenck," said Schlieben, " I am to conduct you, in a covered waggon, through Dresden to Prague ; with orders not to suffer you to speak to any one on the road. I have received three hundred ducats from general Reidt, to defray the expence of travelling. A waggon must be purchased ; but, as all things cannot be prepared to day, the sub-governor has determined we shall depart to-morrow night."

Having joyfully acquiesced, count Schlieben remained with me ; the others, after a short conversation, returned to the town ; and I dined, in company with the major of the day and the officers on guard, with general Walrabe in his prison. Here this gentleman died in 1774 ; having remained at Magdeburg eight and twenty years. His confinement, however, was both deserved, and rendered supportable.

Once more at liberty, I walked about the fortifications, to accustom myself to light and air, and collected the money I had concealed in my dungeon, which amounted to about

seventy ducats. To every man on guard I gave a ducat, to the centinels then on duty over me each three, and ten ducats to be divided among the relief-guard. I sent the officer on guard a present from Prague; and the remainder of my money I bestowed on the widow of the kind, the honest, the worthy Gefhardt. He, poor fellow, was no more; and she had entrusted the secret of the thousand florins to a young soldier, who, spending too freely, was suspected, betrayed her, and she passed two years in the house of correction. Gefhardt never received any punishment; he was in the field. Had he left any children, I should in duty have provided for them. To the widow of the man who hung himself before my prison door, in the year 1756, I gave thirty ducats, lent me by Schlieben.

The night was riotous, the guard made merry, and I passed most of it in their company. I was visited by all the generals of the garrison on Christmas morning; for I was not allowed to enter the town. Boots, uniform, all were ready by noon. I was dressed, viewed myself in the glass, and found pleasure; but the tumult of my own passions, the congratulations I received, and the vivacity of every thing round me, prevented my remembering incidents minutely.

How much room for reflection did this scene afford! My intrinsic worth then, and twenty-four hours before, when in prison, was the same; yet how wonderful an alteration in the carriage and countenance of those by whom I had been so strictly guarded! I was treated with friendship, distinction, attention and flattery. And why? Because those fetters had dropt off which I had never justly borne. Oh, world! what art thou? What, indeed, in despotic states! What is merit, what virtue, where arbitrary power disposes of the fate of men!

Evening came, and with it count Schlieben, a waggon, and four post-horses. After a very affecting farewell, we departed. Who could have persuaded me I should have shed tears at leaving Magdeburg! Yet tears I actually did

shed. It seems equally strange that I lived here ten years, yet never saw the town.

I shall not weary the reader's patience with the trivial incidents of our journey. The exact duration of my imprisonment at Magdeburg was nine years five months, and some days; add to these the seventeen months imprisonment at Glatz, and the amount is eleven years. Thus did the prime of life, the brightest hours in the day of man, pass in imprisonment. Thus was I robbed of time which monarchs have not the power to restore; thus, too, was my body weakened, thus my health impaired, so that now, in my decline of life, a second time I suffer in the gloom, the damp, and the chains of the dungeon of Magdeburg.

The reader would now hope, having obtained my freedom, that my calamities were all at an end: yet do I declare, upon my honour, I would prefer the sufferings of the Star-Fort to those I have since endured in Austria, especially the last six years, while Kurgel and Zetto were my referendaries and curators.

It may happen that I may publish another volume*, in which I may more openly and fully relate the misfortunes of two and twenty years, particularly the last six spent at Vienna. At this moment, I am obliged to be guarded in my expressions. I have already put my enemies to shame, but the hope of justice or reward on this side the grave is vain. No rewards are bestowed on him, who, with all the consciousness of integrity, demands, and does not implore. The facts I shall relate will indeed seem improbable, nay incredible, yet have I, in my own hands, the indisputable vouchers of their verity. I repeat the words of my preface: "If my right hand is guilty of writing untruths in this book, may the common executioner sever it from my body, and, in the memory of posterity, may I live a villain!"

* This volume the Baron has published, and it is included in this edition; but it is necessary to preserve this, and similar passages, because they contain circumstances by which suspense is kept alive.

Having thus called the reader's attention to its truth, I proceed with my history.

On the 2d of January, I arrived, with count Schlieben, safely at Prague, and the same day he delivered me to the then governor, the duke of Deuxponts. He received me with kindness and distinction; we dined with him two successive days, and all Prague was anxious to see a man who had surmounted ten years of suffering so unheard of as mine. Here I received three thousand florins, and paid general Reidt his three hundred ducats, which he had advanced count Schlieben for the expences of my journey, the repayment of which he demanded in his letter, although he had already received ten thousand florins. The expence of returning I also paid to Schlieben, made him a present, and provided myself with some necessaries. After remaining a few days at Prague, a courier arrived from Vienna, to whom, it is most worthy of remark, I was obliged to pay forty florins, with an order from government to bring me, under a strong guard, from Prague to Vienna. My sword was demanded; captain count Wela, and two inferior officers, entered the carriage, which I was obliged to purchase, in company with me, and brought me to Vienna. I took up a thousand florins more in Prague, to defray these expences, and was obliged in Vienna to pay the captain fifty ducats for travelling charges back.

At treatment like this, what were the sensations of my soul! I ought to have re-entered Vienna in triumph, like the martyr of his country, hastening to receive his reward: I, on the contrary, was brought back like a criminal, was sent as a prisoner to the barracks, there kept in the chamber of lieutenant Blonket, with orders that I should be suffered to write to no one, speak to no one, without a ticket from the counsellors Kempf or Huttner. These good gentlemen, during my imprisonment, had been the administrators of my effects!

Thus I remained six weeks: at length, the colonel of the regiment of Poniatowsky, the present field-marshal,

count Alton, spoke to me. I related what I supposed were the reasons of my being thus kept a prisoner in Vienna ; and to the exertions of this worthy man am I indebted that the abominable intentions of my enemies were frustrated, which were to have me imprisoned during life, as insane, in the fortress of Glatz. Had they once removed me from Vienna, all had been lost, and I should certainly have pined away the poor remainder of my life in a mad-house. Yet, when at liberty, could I never obtain justice against these men ! By their means was the empress persuaded that my brain was affected, and that I continually uttered the most violent threats against the king of Prussia. The election of a king of the Romans was then in agitation, and the court was apprehensive lest I, with a rash desire of vengeance, should act something that might offend the Prussian envoy. General Reidt had, moreover, been obliged to promise Frederic that I should not be suffered to appear in Vienna, and that they should hold a most wary eye over me. The empress queen felt compassion for my supposed disease, and asked if no assistance could be afforded me ; to which they answered, I had several times been let blood, but that I still remained a very dangerous man. They added, that I squandered my money strangely, having taken up, and dispersed, four thousand florins in six days, at Prague ; that it would, therefore, be proper to appoint curators or guardians, to impede such extravagances. Thus do the wicked utter their falsehoods ! Thus do they cloud and obscure the throne, making truth invisible !

Count Alton, however, spoke of me and my hard destiny to the countess Paar, mistress of the ceremonies to the empress queen, a noble-minded lady. The late emperor entered the chamber, while I was the subject of discourse, and asked whether I had never had any lucid intervals ? " May it please your majesty," answered Alton, " he has now been seven weeks in custody at my barracks, and I never in my life met a more reasonable or more agreeable man. There must be something mysterious in this affair, or he could not

be treated as a madman, or so represented at court. That he is not so in any-wise, I pledge my honour."

The next day the emperor sent count Thurn, grand-master of the arch-duke Leopold, to speak to me. In him I found a worthy man, an enlightened philosopher, and a lover of his country. To him I related how I had twice been betrayed, twice sold at Vienna, during my imprisonment; to him demonstrated that my administrators had only acted in this vile manner that I might be imprisoned for life, and they remain undisturbed in possession of my effects. We conversed together two hours, during which many things were said that prudence will not permit me here to repeat. I gained his confidence and his heart, and he continued my friend till death. He left me, promised protection, returned the following day, and procured me an audience of the emperor.

I spoke with freedom; the audience lasted more than an hour. At length the emperor was so moved, that he rose from his seat, and retired into the next apartment. I saw the tears drop from his eyes. With sympathetic enthusiasm I fell at his feet, embraced his knees, and wished for the presence of a Rubens or Apelles, to preserve a scene so highly honourable to the memory of the monarch, and paint the sensations of an innocent man, imploring the protection of a great, a just, and a compassionate prince. I felt myself unequal to do his memory that justice it deserves. Words I had none, but my looks, my tears, were indeed eloquent.—The emperor tore himself from me, and I departed with sensations such as only those can know who, themselves being virtuous, unfortunately met with vile and wicked men.

The ill-judging world has called the emperor Francis a weak prince. To me he seems superior to Cæsar, or Frederic the Great. That he had a noble mind, what I have cited is an irrefragable proof; and had not death robbed me of his protection, then, when he found me worthy, I should long since have regained the Hungarian estates I have now for ever lost.

I returned to my barracks in all the raptures of joy ; and an order, the next day, came for my release. I went with count Alton to the countess Paar, who desired to see me, and by her mediation I obtained an audience of the empress.

I cannot describe the kindness of the sovereign ; how much she pitied my sufferings ! how much she admired my fortitude ! I had not opportunity to speak a word ; her professions of pity preventing my stating the justness of my case. She told me she was informed of all the vile artifices practised against me in Vienna : she nevertheless required I should mention no past grievances, should forgive all my enemies, avoid all retrospect, and pass all the accounts of my administrators.—I would have spoken ;—“ Do not complain of any thing,” said she, “ but act as I desire—I know all—you shall be recompensed by me ; you deserve reward and repose, and these you shall enjoy.”—What could I do?—I must either sign whatever was given me to sign, or be sent to a mad-house. I received orders to accompany M. Pistrich to counsellor Ziegler : thither I went, and the next day I was obliged to sign, in their presence, the following conditions :

First—That I acknowledged the will of Trenck to be valid.

Secondly—That I renounced all claim to the Slavonian estates, relying alone on her majesty’s favour.

Thirdly—That I solemnly acquitted my accountants and curators : And,

Lastly—That I would not continue in Vienna.

What more could have been asked of me, had I, instead of reward, deserved punishment ?

This I must sign, or languish in a prison. If such be not arbitrary power, what is ?

Thus was I dealt with ! The empress was prevented acting greatly and nobly.—It is an eternal truth, that this my mistreatment was occasioned by my refusing to hear mass ; and that the possessors of my estates were under the protection of the Jesuits*.

* The confessor of the empress was a Jesuit.

What did I feel ! How did my blood boil while I signed ! The confidence I had in myself assured me I could obtain honourable employment in any country of Europe by the exertion of my talents, the labours of my mind, and the faithful recital of all my woes. At that time I had no children ; I therefore little regretted what I had lost, or the poor portion that remained.

Justly dissatisfied, I determined to avoid Austria eternally. My honest pride would never suffer me, by clandestine and insidious arts, to approach the throne. I knew no such mode of soliciting for justice ; hence was I an unequal match for my enemies ; hence my ills, hence my misfortunes. Complaints and appeals to justice were artfully represented as the splenetic effusions of a man never to be satisfied. By courts of justice I had been plundered ; appeals to them were, therefore, vain indeed.

My too sensible heart was preyed upon and corroded by the treatment I met at Vienna. I, who with so much fortitude, such unshaken honour, had suffered so much in the cause of Vienna ; I, on whom the eyes of all Germany were at this time fixed, to behold what should be the reward of these sufferings ; I, far from being rewarded, was again, in this country, kept a prisoner, and delivered over to those by whom I had been plundered, as a man insane !

Before my intended departure to seek my fortune, I fell ill, and sickness almost brought me to the grave. The empress, hearing of my condition, in her great clemency sent one of her own physicians, and a charitable friar to my assistance ; both of whom I was at last obliged to pay. My own doctor would have restored me much cheaper. This was to be favoured, to be distinguished !

At this time I received, unsolicited, a major's commission, for which I was obliged to pay the fees. Being excluded from actual service, to me the title was of little value : my rank in the army had been at least equal ten years before in other service. The following words, inserted in my commission, are not unworthy remark :—" Her majesty, in conse-

quence of my fidelity and zeal for her service, so conspicuously demonstrated during a long imprisonment, my extraordinary endowments, and exemplary virtues, had been graciously pleased to grant me, in the imperial service, the rank of major."—The rank of major!—From this preamble, who would not have expected either the rank of general, or the restoration of my great Slavonian estates? I had been fifteen years a captain of cavalry, and now was I most graciously made an invalid major!—I was made an invalid major three-and-twenty years ago, and an invalid major I still remain! Let all that has been related be called to mind, the shameful manner in which I had been pillaged, and so repeatedly betrayed; let Vienna, Dantzic, and Magdeburg be remembered; and, at the same time, be this my promotion remembered also! Let it be farther known, that the commission of major might be bought, by any boy, for a few thousand florins! Thirty thousand florins only, of the money I had been robbed of, would have purchased a colonel's commission; I should then have been a companion for generals; enabled by my pay, I then might have educated children for the good of the state, and my promotion would have placed me beyond the persecutions and peculations of my enemies.

It was the interest of these I should be useless; and therefore I was made an invalid. During the thirty-six years that I have been in the service of Austria, I never had any man of rank, any great general, any minister, any president, my enemy, except count Grassalkowitz; and he was only my enemy because he had conceived a friendship for my estates.

My private character was never calumniated, nor did any truly worthy man ever speak of me but with respect and compassion. Who were, who are, my enemies? Jesuits, monks, unprincipled advocates, wishing to become my curators; referendaries, who died despicable, or now live in houses of correction; or accountants, who purchased protectors, to avoid dying by the hands of the hangman. Such as live, live in dread of a similar end; for the emperor

Joseph is just, and able to discover the truth. Alas ! the truth is discovered too late ; age has now really rendered me an invalid. Men with hearts so base, so vile, ought indeed to become the scavengers of society, that, terrified by their example, succeeding judges may not rack the heart of the honest man, seize on the possessions of the orphan and the widow, and wholly expel virtue out of Austria.

God for ever preserve all good men, after me, from such judges ! Men of this character never fail to have friends at court, worthy of themselves. Some maid of honour's chamber-maid, some fire-lighter, some menial person, with minds well befitting their station, who shall have the cunning, at proper opportunities, to say, as they did of me,—“Trenck is a dissatisfied, restless man ; complains of every thing ; speaks evil of princes ; is still more than half a Prussian in his heart ; denies that the Austrian Ulans are capable of killing and eating the whole Prussian army !” My spirits are wearied ; my heart sinks at the remembrance.

I recovered, sought an audience, but this was no more to be obtained. I attended the levee of prince Kaunitz. Not personally known to him, he on his pinnacle of power, viewed in me a crawling insect among the swarm beneath. I thought somewhat more proudly ; thought myself a man : my actions were upright, and so should my body be. I quitted the apartment, and at the door was congratulated, by the mercenary Swiss porter, on my good fortune of having obtained an audience !

I applied to the field-marshal, from whom I received this remarkable answer :—“ If you cannot purchase, my dear Trenck, it will be impossible to admit you into actual service ; beside, you are too old to learn our very difficult manœuvres.” I was then thirty-seven. I briefly replied, “ Your excellence mistakes my character ; I did not come to Vienna to serve as an invalid major. My curators have taken good care I should have no money to purchase ; but, had I millions, I would never obtain rank in the army by that mode.” I quitted the room with a shrug.—The

next day I addressed a memorial to the empress ; which, had I room, might here deserve to be wholly inserted. I did not re-demand my Sclavonian estates, I only petitioned,

First,—That those who had carried off quintals of silver and gold from the premises, and had rendered no account either to me or the treasury, should be obliged to refund at least a part.

Secondly,—That they should be obliged to return the thirty-six thousand florins, which had been illegally sequestered from my family inheritance, and applied to an hospital.

Thirdly,—That the thirty-six thousand florins might be re-paid, which count Grassalkowitz had deducted from the allodial estates, for three thousand six hundred pandours, who had fallen in the service of the empress : I not being in justice bound to pay for the lives of men out of my private purse, who had died gloriously in defence of the empress.

Fourthly,—I required that fifteen thousand florins, which had been deducted from my capital, and applied to the Bohemian fortifications, should likewise be restored, together with the fifteen thousand which had been unduly paid to the regiment of Trenck.

Fifthly,—I reclaimed the twelve thousand florins, which I had been robbed of at Dantzic, by the treachery of the imperial resident, Abramson ; and public satisfaction from the magistracy of Dantzic, who had delivered me up, so contrary to the laws of nations, to the Prussian power.

These articles, and others, contained in the memorial, were indisputable claims, not being included in the renunciation I had some weeks before been obliged to sign.

I likewise claimed the customary interest of six per cent. for the capital of seventy-six thousand florins, detained by the Hungarian chamber, which would amount to twenty thousand florins ; I having been allowed only five per cent. and at last four.

I more particularly insisted on the restoration of my Sclavonian estates, and a proper allowance for improve-

ments, which the very sentence of the court had granted, and which amounted to eighty thousand florins.

I entreated—I petitioned for an arbitrator ; I humbly solicited justice concerning incontrovertible rights, but nothing I obtained, not so much as an answer to this and a hundred other similar petitions !

I must here speak of my accountants, and of transactions during my imprisonment.—I had bought a house in Vienna, in the year 1750, situated in the Teinfaltstrasse ; the price was sixteen thousand florins, thirteen thousand of which I had paid at different instalments. The receipts were among my writings: these writings, together with my other effects, were taken from me at Dantzic, in the year 1754. The colonel and quarter-master, and all persons of the regiment, of whom I might require any account, were dead in the interim, nor have I, to this hour, been able to learn more than that my writings were sent to the administrators of my affairs at Vienna. With respect to my horses, effects, and property at Dantzic, in what manner these were disposed of no one could or would say.

After being released from my dungeon at Magdeburg, I inquired concerning my house, but no longer found it mine. Those who had gotten possession of my writings must have restored the acquittances to the seller, consequently he could re-demand the whole sum. My house, however, was in other hands, and I was brought in debtor six thousand florins, for interest and costs of suit. Thus were house and money for ever gone, beyond redemption!—Whom can I accuse?

Again.—I had two years maintained, at my own expence, lieutenant Schroeder, who had deserted from Glatz, and for whom I afterward obtained a captain's commission in the guard of prince Esterhazy, at Eisenstadt. His own misconduct caused him to be cashiered and become a beggar. In my administrators' accounts I found the following article.

“ To captain Schroeder, for capital, interest, and costs of suit, sixteen hundred florins.”

It was certain I was not a penny indebted to this person: I however had no redress, having been, as before related, obliged to pass and sign all their accounts.

I four years afterward obtained information concerning this affair: I met Schroeder, by accident, as he was asking alms near St. Stephen's; knew him, took him home with me, and inquired whether he had actually received these sixteen hundred florins. He answered in the affirmative. "No one believed you would ever more have seen the light. I knew you had a friendship for me, and would willingly serve me, and, all being lost to you, that you would give something to relieve my extreme necessities. I went and spoke to Dr. Berger; he agreed we should halve the sum, and his contrivance was, I should make oath I had lent you a thousand florins, without having received your note. The money was paid me by M. Frauenberger, to whom I agreed to send a present of Tokay, for Madam Huttner."

Oh! excellent! This was the manner in which my curators took care of my property! Many similar instances I could produce, but I am too much agitated by the recollection. I must, however, speak a word concerning who and what my curators were.

The court-counsellor, Kempf, was my administrator, and counsellor Huttner my referendary. The substitute of Kempf was Frauenberger, who, being obliged to act as a commissary clerk at Prague, during the war, could not attend to affairs at Vienna, but appointed one Krebs as a sub-substitute: whether M. Krebs had also a sub-sub-substitute is more than I am able to say.

Doctor Bertracker was *Fidei commiscurator*, though there was no legal *Fidei commissum* existing. Doctor Berger, as *Fidei commiss-advocate*, was superintendant over them all; and, to them all, salaries were to be paid.

Let us now see what was the weighty business this noble company had to transact. I had seventy-six thousand florins in the Hungarian chamber, the interest of which was yearly to be received, and added to the capital: this was

their whole employment, and this was certainly so trifling that any honest man would have performed it gratis. Kempf, having luckily got a fat capon, wished to pluck it in company with his old croney; he therefore gave him an office. The war made money scarce, and the discounting of bills with my ducats was a profitable trade to my curators. Had it been properly and honestly employed, I should certainly have found my capital increased, after my ten years' imprisonment, full sixty thousand florins. Instead of these, I received three thousand florins at Prague, and nothing more; and, in compensation, found my capital diminished seven thousand florins.

Frauenberger and Berger died rich; and, the superior being obliged to protect him whom he had employed as a deputy, I must be eternally confined as a madman, lest this worthy deputy should have been proved a rogue. This is the clue to the acquittal I was obliged to sign. Madam K— was, at that time, a lady of the bed-chamber at court: she could approach the throne: her chamber employments, indeed, procured her the keys of doors that, to me, were eternally locked.

Not satisfied with this, Kempf applied to the empress, informed her they were, indeed, acquitted, but not recompensed; and that Frauenberger required four thousand florins for remuneration. The empress laid an interdict on the half of my income and pension. Thus was I obliged to live in poverty, thus banished the Austrian dominions, where my seventy-six thousand florins were reduced to sixty-three, the interest of which I could only receive, and that burthened by the above interdict, the *Fidei commissum*, and administration. Of all these exactions, none so nearly, so much affected me, as that of being obliged to present four thousand florins to the man by whom my affairs had been thus administered.

The empress, indeed, during my sickness, ordered, as an especial favour, that my captain's pay, during my ten years' imprisonment, should be given me, amounting to eight

thousand florins; which pay she also settled on me as a pension. By this pension, however, I never profited; for, during twenty-three years, that and more was swallowed by journeys to Vienna, chicanery of courtiers, agents, advocates, and costs of suit. Of the eight thousand florins three were stolen during my illness; the court physician must be paid thrice as much as another, and what remained after my recovery was sunk in the preparations I made to seek my fortune elsewhere. I had, beside, eight thousand florins to repay, which had been advanced by my friends while in my dungeon; four thousand of which were sent to general Reidt at Berlin.

Thus have I been rendered so poor that I have never been able to repay my sister's children the money their mother advanced, while my kind friends at Vienna have dignified me with the name of a discontented man.

How far my captain's pay was matter of right, or matter of favour, let the world judge, being told I went in the service of Vienna to the city of Dantzic. Neither did this restitution of pay equal the sum I had sent the imperial minister to obtain my freedom. It has been asserted, the empress delivered me from imprisonment. But no, I positively declare the contrary. I remained nine months in my dungeon after the articles were signed, unthought of, and, when mentioned by the Austrians, the king had twice rejected the proposal of my being set free. The affair actually happened as follows; according to the account I received from their royal highnesses prince Henry, prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, and, particularly from the minister, count Hertzberg. General Reidt had received my ten thousand florins full six months, and seemed to remember me and my imprisonment no more. One gala day, however, the king happened to be in an extraordinary good humour, and her majesty the queen, the princess Amelia, and the present monarch, said to the imperial minister—"This is a fit opportunity for you to speak in behalf of Trenck." He accordingly waited his time, did speak, and the king replied, "Yes."

The joy of the whole company appeared so great, that Frederic *the Great* was offended!

Other circumstances, which contributed to promote this affair, the reader will easily collect from my history. That there were persons in Vienna who earnestly desired to detain me in prison is indubitable, from their proceedings after my return. My friends at Berlin, my own exertions, and my money, were my deliverers.

For some weeks after I first obtained my freedom, I was generally absent in mind, and deep in thought. This was a habit I had acquired in prison, and the objects of sight appeared but as the visions of sleep. I often stopped in the streets, stared around me, doubted my own existence, and bit my finger, in order to convince myself I was really awake and alive.

How trifling, how insignificant, does the poor pageantry of greatness appear to me at this time! A thousand people, variously bedecked in all their finery, wait expecting the appearance of some extraordinary personage! The doors are thrown open! An elderly matron enters! graciously smiles; and every body most humbly smiles also! She asks a few questions, concerning the wind and weather, of an old priest, in a red cap and stockings, then addresses herself to an insignificant Esop, on whom all eagerly press forward to fawn! the good lady retires, and the hubbub of the synagogue ensues; and this is called a levee! Nor to this sublime honour, may men of honest hearts, the friends of virtue; or their country, find admittance: they have not the proper key, or, having it, hold it in contempt. Oh man! What art thou when called great and honourable! What are thy thoughts, what thy dreams! Dost thou call thyself a man of reason, a philosopher? What dost thou then at courts?—By me they have long been avoided.

Walking round the ramparts of Vienna, having recovered from my sickness, the vivifying spring and the broad expanse of heaven inspired a consciousness of present freedom,

and of pleasure indescribable. I heard the morning song of the lark. My heart palpitated, my pulse quickened, the blood trickled through my veins with delight, for I felt I was a man, and recollected I was not in chains. Happen, said I, what may, I fear not futurity so long as my feet, my will, and my heart are free, and, like yonder lark, I can remove from land to land. My soul poured forth its thankfulness for this consciousness of freedom, and I determined to fly Vienna, and seek some corner of the world where virtue has nothing to fear from the tongues of slanderers, the commands of courts, or the arbitrary will of monarchs.

If I went into any large companies, their prattle so distracted my mind, and the lights so overpowered my eyes, that I returned home with head-ache, lassitude, and melancholy.

An accident happened which furthered my prospect. Marshal Laudohn was going to Aix-la-Chapelle, to take the waters. I had always personally honoured and loved this general when he was no more than a captain of pandours in my cousin's regiment. He went to take his leave of the countess Paar; I was present, the empress entered the chamber, and the conversation turning on Laudohn's journey, she said to me, "The baths are also necessary to the re-establishment of your health, Trenck." I was ready, and followed him in two days, where we remained about three months.

Here we were stared at as strange animals. All the world wished to see him because of his fame in war, and me because of my sufferings. The society of this worthy general poured balm into my wounded soul. He was as well acquainted with Vienna as myself: his fortitude and magnanimity had conquered his enemies. What he was he had made himself.

The mode of life at Aix-la-Chapelle and Spa pleased me, where men of all nations meet, and where princes are obliged to mingle with persons of all ranks, if they wish to seek

conversation, and would not renounce society. One day here procured me more pleasure, esteem, and friendship, than a whole life in Vienna.

I scarcely had remained here a month before my ever good friend, the countess Paar, wrote to me that the empress had provided for me, and would make my fortune as soon as I should return to Vienna. I endeavoured, by my agents, to discover in what this good fortune consisted, but ineffectually. I hoped every thing from the empress, who well knew my hard destiny. The death of the emperor Francis at Inspruck occasioned the return of general Laudohn; and I followed him on foot to Vienna.

By means of the countess Paar I obtained an audience in a few days. The empress received me graciously, and said to me, "I will prove to you, Trenck, that I keep my word. I have insured your fortune; I will give you a rich and prudent wife." I replied, "Most gracious sovereign, I cannot determine to marry; and if I could, my choice is already made at Aix-la-Chapelle." "How! are you married, then?"—"Not yet, please your majesty."—"Are you promised?"—"Yes."—"Well, well, no matter for that, I will take care of that affair; I am determined on marrying you to the rich widow of M—; and she approves my choice. She is a very good kind of a woman, and has fifty thousand florins a year. You are in want of such a wife."

I was thunder-struck. This lovely bride was an old canting hypocrite, of sixty-three, extremely covetous, and a termagant. I answered, "I must frankly speak truth to your majesty; I cannot consent, did she possess the treasures of the whole earth. I seek happiness, and not misery. I have made my choice, and given my word of honour, which, as an honest man, I must not break." The angry empress regarded me with contempt, and said, "Your unhappiness is your own work. Act as you think proper; I have done." Here my audience ended; and, thus dismissed, I bade an

eternal adieu to any hope of reward from empresses and kings.

Had I been inclined to make my fortune, by marrying an old woman, I might long before, in 1750, have married one in Holland, worth three millions. This proposal was to recompense me for the loss of my Sclavonian estates, and all my other innumerable afflictions. Beside that compliance was impossible, I was beloved in Aix-la-Chapelle, where mutual affection, reason, beauty, worth, and an exalted mind, all promised future happiness.

I was not actually affianced at that time to my present wife, but love determined me to return, to improve an intimacy so far advanced.

Marshal Laudohn knew my mistress, and promoted the match. He was acquainted with my heart, and the warmth of my passions, and perceived I could not conquer the secret desire of vengeance on men, by whom I had been so cruelly, so wickedly treated. He, and my friend professor Gellert, whom I visited at Leipsic, both advised me to take this mode of calming passions that often inspired projects too vast, and that, seeking tranquillity, I should fly the commerce of the great.

This friendly counsel was seconded by my own wishes. I returned to Aix-la-Chapelle in December 1765, and married the youngest daughter of the former burgomaster De Broe. He was dead: he had lived on his own estate at Brussels, where my wife was born and educated. He had been called to this honourable office by the unanimous voice of the citizens of Aix-la-Chapelle. He was the descendant of an ancient and noble family, in the province of Artois; and some of his predecessors, who possessed estates near Aix-la-Chapelle, had, I know not for what reason, accepted the dignity of knights of the Roman empire. My wife's mother was sister to the vice-chancellor of Dusseldorf, baron Robert, lord of Roland.

It is not generally known at Vienna, that one of the two

burgomasters of Aix-la-Chapelle must always be elected from a noble family, and the other from the citizens. My children, therefore, can prove their descent to be noble, both by male and female line.

My wife has been with me in most parts of Europe, where she has always been esteemed as she deserved. She then was young, handsome, worthy, and virtuous, has borne me eleven children, all of whom she has nursed herself; eight of them are still living, and have been properly educated. God grant I may be enabled ever to provide for her as she deserves, and as it is my duty. Two and twenty years has she borne a part in all my sufferings, and well deserves reward.

During my late short abode at Vienna, I made one effort more; I sought an audience from the present emperor Joseph, related all that had happened to me, and particularly remarked such defects as I had observed in the government and regulations of the country. He gave me an attentive hearing, proved his desire to increase the happiness of his people, and commanded me to commit my thoughts to writing. This I accordingly performed, stating with precision and unreserve the observations I had made on affairs, civil, military, and æconomical.

Might I publish this writing, I am persuaded it would do me no dishonour; but, on the contrary, show the monarch has, long since, profited by many of the improvements therein suggested. My memorial was graciously received; all I petitioned for was secrecy, having therein named several persons, who were again capable of making me wretched. I farther gave a more ample account of what had happened to me in various countries, and which prudence has occasioned me to express more cautiously and darkly in these pages. My memorial, though graciously received, produced no effect, and I hastened back to Aix-la-Chapelle.

For some few years I lived here in peace; my house was the rendezvous of the first people who came to take the

waters. I began to be more known, and every where procured myself friends among the very first and best people.

I also visited professor Gellert at Leipsic, showed him my manuscripts, and asked his advice concerning what branch of literature he thought it was probable I might best succeed in. He most approved my fables and tales, but blamed the excessive freedom with which I spoke in my political writings. I neglected his advice, and many ensuing calamities were the consequence.

My wife brought me a son in December 1766, and I took this opportunity of writing to the youthful monarch at Vienna. Though published in my writings, under the title of Belisarius to the emperor Justinian, I think it necessary to insert what follows here.

“Your majesty is informed of my marriage. My wife has borne me a son, whom I have christened Joseph. The imperial chamberlain, colonel and baron Rippenda, stood sponsor, by proxy, for your majesty. This was done without first obtaining your majesty’s consent. I flattered myself your majesty would graciously be pleased thus far to honour me, knowing my loyalty and my misfortunes. It is indeed my hope that my conduct will procure from your majesty a more happy futurity. This son I shall educate in the same loyal principles, and, rather than depart from them, he shall imbibe poison from his mother’s breast.

“Most gracious emperor, while I live he will be provided for; but at my death then must he say to his sovereign, I am the son and rightful heir of both the Trencks, whose lands and possessions have been seized by strangers and aliens. I look up to you, gracious sovereign, as a protecting deity for my poor childreu. May your majesty participate my joy, and graciously welcome this new citizen of the world. May it also please you to inform me, whether it be your gracious pleasure I should farther present my thoughts in writing, for your high inspection. My enemies at Vienna daily increase in strength; but on your sovereign protection I rely; and, whatever may be my fate, shall

most faithfully and eternally remain the loyal servant of my emperor and my country. TRENCK."

I have at present my reasons for inserting the following answer, which was written by the emperor's own hand, and is still in my possession.

" *Dear Major Trenck,*

" I am well pleased that you have christened your son Joseph, and have chosen colonel Rippenda as my proxy. As a proof of my good wishes toward you, I have, for manifest reasons, ordered that, henceforth, you shall receive your pay at Brussels, instead of Vienna. Continue to send me your writings; I am pleased to be informed of the truth; but they will give me more satisfaction, should you send them simple and unadorned, than in their former satirical dress. I am yours, JOSEPH."

I soon afterward received orders to correspond with his majesty's private secretary, baron Roder: what this correspondence was, must not here be told; suffice it to say, my attempts to serve my country were frustrated; I saw defects too clearly, spoke my thoughts too frankly, and wanted sufficient humility ever to obtain favour.

In the year 1767 I wrote "The Macedonian Hero," which became as famous throughout all Germany as my *Eulenspiegel*, (The Malicious Wag.) The poem did me honour, but entailed new persecutions; yet, having wrote it, I never could repent: I have had the honour of presenting it to five reigning princes; by none of whom it has been burnt. The empress alone was highly enraged. I had spoken as Nathan did to David, and the Jesuits now openly became my enemies.

The following vile trick was played me in the year 1768. A friend, in Brussels, was commissioned to receive my quarterly pay, from whom I learnt an interdict had been laid upon it by the court called Hofkriegsrath, at Vienna, in which I had been condemned to pay a note of seven hundred florins, to one Bussy, with fourteen years interest.

Bussy was a known swindler. I was conscious no man on earth had any such claim ; I, therefore, journeyed post-haste, to Vienna. No hearing, no satisfactory account was to be obtained. The answer was *Res jam judicata est* ; sentence is past, therefore all further attempts are too late.

I applied to the emperor Joseph. I pledged my honour and my head to prove the falsification of this note ; and intreated a revision of the cause. My request was granted, and my attorney, Weyhrauch, was an upright man. When he began to speak, and request a day of revision to be appointed, he was threatened to be committed by the referendary, Zetto, should he undertake to interfere and defend the affairs of Trenck. He answered, firmly, " His defence is my business in this place ; I know my cause to be good." Silence was imposed and nothing farther done.

Four months did I continue in Vienna before the day was appointed to revise this cause. It now appeared evidently there were erasures and holes through the paper, in three places : all in court were convinced the claim ought to be annulled, and the claimant punished. Zetto, notwithstanding, ordered the parties to withdraw, and then so managed that the judges resolved the case must be again laid before the court, with formal written proofs.

This gave time for new knavery : I was obliged to return to Aix-la-Chapelle, and four years elapsed before this affair, clear as the meridian sun, was decided. Two priests in the interim, who were such as father-confessor to convents usually are, took false oaths that they had actually seen me receive the money. At length, however, I proved that the note was dated a year after I had been imprisoned at Magdeburg ; I consequently could not give any such note in Vienna. Nay farther, my attorney proved the very writs of the court had, likewise, been falsified. Zetto, the referendary, and Bussy, were absolutely the forgers, but I happened to be too active, and my attorney too honest, to lose this cause. I was obliged to make three very expensive journies from Aix-la-Chapelle to Vienna, lest judgment

should go by default. Sentence at last was necessarily pronounced ; I gained my cause, and the note was declared a forgery ; but the costs, amounting to three thousand five hundred florins, I was obliged to pay, for Bussy could not ; nor was he corporally punished, though at last driven from Vienna for his villainous acts. Zetto, however, still continued referendary ; still continued, for eighteen years, my barbarous persecutor ; till, not long since, he was deprived of his office, and condemned to the house of correction.

May no such judgments ever again be given in courts at Vienna ; where, perhaps, I am the only one whose perseverance and courage would have demonstrated their injustice. But this perseverance, this courage, have made these courts my enemies, as I have since bitterly experienced. Too late was Zetto punished, for the welfare of many a widow and orphan, and still are numerous instances of his vile practices unknown.

This cause excited many remarks at Vienna ; I gained much honour, but more expence and trouble. I took this opportunity to solicit justice in my other affairs, but to little purpose, except that the world began to know me better, and afford me somewhat more of its pity.

My knowledge of the world increased at Aix-la-Chapelle, where men of all nations and characters met, particularly English. In the morning I might converse with a lord in opposition, in the afternoon with an orator of the king's party, and at night with an honest man of no party. In conversation like this, knowledge is acquired and imparted. I sent Hungarian wine into England, France, Holland, and the empire : this occasioned me to undertake long journeys ; and as my increase of acquaintance gave me opportunity of receiving many foreigners with politeness in my own house, I was myself also well received wherever I went.

The income I should have had from Vienna was all ingulfed by law suits, curators, attornies, and the journeys I was obliged to undertake ; having been thrice cited to appear, in person, before the Hofkriegsrath. To me no hope

remained ; I was described as a dangerous mal-content, who had deserted his native land, insinuations by which my enemies took care to profit. I nevertheless remained, be the country in which I lived what it would, an honest man ; one who could provide for his own necessities without meanness or the favour of courts ; one whose acquaintance was every where esteemed. In Vienna alone was I unsought, unemployed, and obscure.

My love of the chace made me particularly acceptable to the English, who brought with them their own horses and dogs, to hunt the wolf and wild boar, animals not to be found in their own country. I, in return, passed whole summers at their country-seats in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and thus obtained a thorough knowledge of the nation.

The elector Palatine had granted me a certain extent of country in the territory of Juliers, where I might hunt ; and the count Palatine of the Rhine gave me permission to hunt where I pleased. To defend this right of hunting was now my duty, and occasioned various disputes : these, however, were not often determined in courts of law, but usually every man asserted his claim with the sword.

One day an accident happened, on this occasion, which made me renowned over the country as a magician, as one whom lead could not penetrate, and who had power over fogs and clouds.

I had a quarrel with the Palatine president, baron Blank-art, concerning a hunting district ; I therefore wrote to him, that, on a certain day, he should repair to the spot in dispute, whither I would also come, at ten in the morning, with sword and pistol, hoping he would there give me satisfaction for the affront I had received. Thither I went, with two huntsmen, and two friends ; but, instead of the baron, was astonished to find two hundred armed peasants assembled.

What was to be done ; I sent one of my huntsmen to the army of the enemy, informing them that, did they not beat

a retreat, I should fire. It was in the month of August, the day was clear and fine, and suddenly a thick and impenetrable fog arose. My huntsman returned, with intelligence, that, having delivered his message just as the fog came on, these valiant heroes had all run away in the greatest fright.

I advanced, found nobody, fired my piece, as did my friends and followers, and marched to the mansion of my adversary, where my hunting-horn was blown in triumph in his court-yard. The runaway peasants fired at a distance, but the fog prevented their taking any aim.

Having taken this satisfaction, I returned home, where many false reports had preceded me. My wife expected I should be brought home dead, and that many others would be maimed ; however, not the least mischief had happened.

It soon was propagated through the country that I was a magician, had raised a fog to render myself invulnerable, and that the truth of this could be justified by two hundred eye-witnesses. All the monks of Aix-la-Chapelle, Juliers, and Cologne, publicly preached concerning me, reviled me, and warned the people to beware of the arch magician and Lutheran, Trenck.

On a future occasion, this belief I turned to matter of merriment. I went to hunt the wolf in the extensive forest of the country of Monjoye, and invited the peasants and townsmen to the chace. The first day we had but little sport ; toward evening I, and some forty of my followers, retired to rest in the neighbouring charcoal huts, well provided with wine and brandy. " My lads," said I, " it is now necessary you should all discharge your pieces, and load them anew, that to-morrow no wolf may escape, and that none of you may excuse yourselves on your pieces missing fire." The guns were accordingly re-loaded, and placed in a separate chamber, after which they began to eat, drink and dance. While they were merry-making, my huntsman privately went into this chamber, drew the balls, and charged the pieces with powder, several of which he loaded with

double charges. Some of their notched balls I put into my pocket.

In the morning, away went I, and my merry fellows, to the chace. As we walked, their conversation turned on my necromancy, and the miraculous manner in which I could envelope myself in a cloud, or make myself bullet proof. "What is that you are talking about, my lads!" said I. "Some of these unbelieving good folks," answered my huntsman, "affirm your honour is unable to ward off balls." "Well then," said I, laughing, to one of them, "fire away my good fellow, and try." The man refused, and my huntsman took his piece out of his hand, and fired. I pretended to parry with my hand, and called, "Let any man, that is so inclined, fire, but only one at a time." Accordingly they began, and, pretending to twist and turn about, I suffered them all to discharge their pieces. It must be remarked, I was perfectly secure, as my people had carefully noticed that no man had re-loaded his gun. Some of them received such blows from the guns that were doubly charged that they fell down, terrified in amazement at the powers of magic. I advanced, holding in my hand some of the marked balls. "Let every one choose his own," called I. All stood motionless, and many of them slunk home, with their guns on their shoulders: some few remained, and our sport was excellent.

On Sunday the monks of Aix-la-Chapelle again began to preach. My black art became the theme of the whole country; and, at this day, many of the people present will make oath that they fired upon me, and that, after catching them in my hand, I returned the balls.

Thus easy is it to gull this wise world. My high and invulnerable qualities were published throughout Juliers, Aix-la-Chapelle, Maestricht, and Cologne, and perhaps this belief has more than ten times saved my life; the priests having propagated it from their pulpits, in a country which so swarms with highway-robbers, that one hundred-and-

sixty men have been broken alive on the wheel, quartered, and burnt, within a year, and where, for a single ducat, any man may hire an assassin.

It is indeed no small matter of surprise that I should, for years, have preserved my life in a town, where there are twenty-three monasteries and churches, and where the monks are all adored as so many deities. The catholic clergy had been sufficiently enraged against me, by my poem of "The Macedonian Hero;" and in 1772, I published a newspaper at Aix-la-Chapelle, and another periodical work entitled "The Friend of Men," in which I endeavoured to unmask hypocrisy. Indeed for me, an apostolic major of the apostolic Maria-Theresa, to write thus in a town swarming with friars, and in a tone so undaunted, was unexampled.

At present, now toleration and freedom of opinion are more encouraged by the emperor Joseph II. many such essayists encounter bigotry and deceit with ridicule; or, wanting invention themselves, publish extracts from writings that belong to the age of Luther. I have the honour of having attacked the very pillars of the Romish hierarchy in days more dangerous. I may boast of being the first German who, unprotected, raised a fermentation on the Upper Rhine and in the state of Austria, so advantageous to truth, the progress of the human understanding, and the happiness of futurity.

Let the world read and judge of my writings! They contain nothing inimical to the pure morality taught by Christ. I attacked the sale of indulgences, the avarice of Rome, the laziness, deceit, licentious gluttony, robbery, and blood-sucking of the monks of Aix-la-Chapelle, who sought the murder of each other in the very church, and in presence of the altar. I wrote as a moralist, and morals do not enrich monks. Therefore did the arch-priest, and nine of his coadjutors, declare every Sunday from the pulpit, publicly naming me, I was a free-thinker, a wizard, one whom every man, wishing well to God and the church, ought to assassi-

nate. The Jesuit, father Zunder, declared me an outlaw; and a day was appointed on which my writings were to be burnt before my house, the house itself erased, and its inhabitants massacred. My wife received letters warning her to fly, with her children, for safety; which warning she in terror obeyed. I and two of my huntsmen remained, provided with eighty-four loaded muskets. These I displayed in the gallery before the window, that all might be convinced I would make a desperate defence. I lived opposite the court-house. The appointed day came, and father Zunder, with my writings in his hand, attended by all the students in the town, appeared ready for the attack: the other monks had incited the towns-people to a general storm; no man, however, had the heart to appear in the market-place, while I stood in a gallery so well stored with fire-arms. Thus passed the day and night in suspense.

In the morning a fire broke out in the town. I hastened, fearless, with my two huntsmen, secretly well armed, to give assistance: we dashed the water from our buckets, and all obeyed my directions. Father Zunder and the students were there likewise. I approached him by degrees, and struck his anointed ear with my leathern bucket, as if by accident; which no man thought proper to notice. I passed undaunted through the crowd; the people all smiled, pulled off their hats, and wished me a good morning. Such are the populace, when they perceive they are not feared. The people of Aix-la-Chapelle were stupid bigots, but too cowardly to murder a man who was prepared for his own defence. Here the threats of my adversaries for this time ended.

As I was riding to Maestricht through a hollow-way, a ball whistled by my ears, which, no doubt, was a messenger sent after me by these persecuting priests.

When hunting near the convent of Schwartzbruck, three Dominicans lay in ambush for me behind a hedge. One of their colleagues, who often hunted with me, pointed out the place. I was on my guard with my double-bar-

relled gun, drew near, but called with a voice of terror—
 “Shoot, scoundrels! But do not kill me, for the devil stands ready for you at your elbow!”—One fired, and they all ran; the ball hit my hat. I fired likewise, and wounded one desperately, whom the other two carried off: he recovered however, and afterward eloped with a cow-girl.

Their attempts at poisoning me were all unsuccessful, for I always ate at home. In the year 1774, journeying from Spa to Limbourg, I was attacked by eight banditti. The weather was rainy, and my musket was in its case; my sabre was entangled in the belt, so that unable to draw it, I was obliged to defend myself as with a club. I sprang from the carriage, and, with every effort of nature, fought in defence of my life, striking down all before me, while my faithful huntsman protected me behind. I dispersed my assailants, hastened to my carriage, and drove away. One of these fellows was soon after hanged, and owned, before execution, that the confessor of this banditti had promised perpetual absolution, could they but dispatch me; but that no man could shoot me, because that Lucifer had rendered me invulnerable. Persuaded of the truth of this, fortunately for me, they had only assaulted me with clubs. My strength and agility, fighting too for life, was superior to theirs, and they buried two of their gang, whom, with my heavy sabre, I had killed. I escaped with a bruised arm and shoulder; my huntsman received a violent blow with a stone.

To such excess of cruelty may the violence and rage of priests be carried! Yet did not my writings contain a single word inimical to the pure morality of Christ: I attacked only gross abuses, the deceit and lasciviousness of the monks of Aix-la-Chapelle, Cologne, and Liege, where they are worse than canibals, wallowing, like swine, in the slough of ignorance and gluttony. I wished to inculcate the true Christian duties among my fellow citizens, and the attempt was sufficient to irritate the selfish church of Rome.

From my empress I had nothing further to hope. Her confessor had painted me with all the craft of a priest, as an

arch-heretic, and a persecutor of the holy and blessed mother church. Nor was this all: opinions were artfully propagated, through Vienna, that I was a restless man, dangerous to the community. Such, indeed, is the universal supposition of all who have neither personally known me, nor read my writings.

Hence too was I always wronged in courts of judicature, where there are ever found wicked or bigoted men. The latter thought they were serving the cause of God by injuring me; and the former are ever the enemies of pure and simple truth, undauntedly displayed, it being their interest that virtue and patriotism should fall the victims of falsehood. Yet were they unable to prevent my writings producing me much money, or being circulated through all Germany. The Aix-la-Chapelle Journal or Gazette became so famous in the first year, that in the second I had four thousand subscribers, by each of whom I gained a ducat.

The postmasters, who gain considerably by circulating newspapers, were envious, because the Aix-la-Chapelle Gazette destroyed several of the others; and therefore formed a combination.

I will briefly notice what so much contributed to the sale of my paper. I was acquainted with most countries and courts, in which I had the best of correspondents: wherefore, instead of merely relating past events, I could foretell future. I was sometimes obliged to be ambiguous, yet my meaning was very capable of being understood.

Prince Charles of Sweden, eldest brother to the present king, placed the greatest confidence in me during his residence at Aix-la-Chapelle and Spa, and I accompanied him into Holland. When I took my leave of him at Maestricht, while we were in the subterranean gallery of the fortifications, he said to me, "When my father dies, either my brother shall be king, or we will lose our heads*." The

*The prince meant to say the power of his father was so limited that he was not a king.

king died, and prince Charles, soon after, said, in the post-script of one of his letters, "What we spoke of at Maestricht will soon be fully accomplished, and you may then come to Stockholm."

On this I inserted an article in my Gazette, declaring a revolution had taken place in Sweden, and that the king had made himself absolute. The other papers thought proper to express their doubts, and I immediately offered to wager a thousand ducats on the truth of every article published in my Gazette under the title "Aix-la-Chapelle." The news of the revolution in Sweden was instantaneously confirmed. This incident added greatly to the authenticity of my paper.

My Gazette foretold the Polish partition six weeks sooner than any other; but how I obtained this intelligence must not here be mentioned. I also was active in the defence of queen Matilda of Denmark.

The French ministry were highly offended at the following pasquinade: "The three eagles have rent the Polish bear, without losing a feather, with which any man in the cabinet of Versailles can write. Since the death of Mazarine, they write there only with goose quills."

By desire of the king of Poland, I wrote a narrative of the attempt made to assassinate him, and named the nuncio who had given a general absolution to the conspirators in the chapel of the holy virgin.

The house was now in flames. Rome insisted I should recall my words. Her nuncio, at Cologne, vented poison, daggers, and excommunication: the empress queen herself thought proper to interfere. I obtained from Warsaw a copy of the examination of the conspirators for my justification. This I threatened to publish, and stood unmoved in the defence of truth. I acquired new honour, but new persecutors, likewise; as for protectors none: mine was the fate of all reformers, who must expect reward beyond the grave.

The empress wrote to the postmaster-general of the empire, commanding him to lay an interdict on the Aix-la-Chapelle Gazette. Informed of this, I ended its publication

with the year, but wrote an essay on the partition of Poland, which, also, did but increase my enemies. The priests took care not to be idle at these moments.

The magistracy of Aix-la-Chapelle is elected from the lower ranks of people, and the Burger's court consists of an ignorant rabble. I know no exceptions, but baron Lamberte and De Witte ; and, to heighten the ridicule, this people assume to themselves titles of dignity, for which they are amenable to the fiscal court at Vienna. Knowing I found little protection at Vienna, they imagined they might attack, and drive me from their town. I was a spy on their evil deeds, of whom they would willingly have rid themselves. I likewise knew that the two sheriffs, Kloss and Furth, and the recorder Geyer, had robbed the town-chamber of forty thousand dollars, and divided the spoil. To these I was a dangerous man ; for such reasons they sought a quarrel with me, pretending I had committed a trespass by breaking down a hedge, and sent a sergeant, citing me to appear at their town house.

It is a well-known right of the empire, that no magistrate of these courts can enforce the personal appearance of a staff officer. I was subject only to the court called Hofkriegsrath, at Vienna. But by this court they soon understood I should not be protected. A most disagreeable litigation ensued. By accident I obtained a letter from count Gravenitz, member of the Aulic council, to the postmasters Heinsberg, with whom I had also a suit pending, in which he said, that, though justice was on my side, he would undertake to weary me by procrastination ; he fulfilled his promise, and my wife was obliged to pay three hundred florins of gold, under pain of execution, while I was absent at Vienna, endeavouring to obtain right.

This was a trifle. The postmaster, Heinsberg, of Aix-la-Chapelle, although he had two thousand three hundred rix-dollars of mine in his possession, instituted false suits against me, on pretence of a note, which was nothing more than a receipt, for a thousand dollars on account, obtained

verdicts against me contrary to the most clear and evident justice, seized on a cargo of wine, worth three thousand eight hundred dollars, at Cologne; and I, on the whole, incurred losses to the amount of eighteen thousand florins, exclusive of the interruption given to the trade I carried on in wine; which devoured the fortune of my wife, and by which she, with myself and my children, were reduced to poverty.

Let it not be imagined these are mere assertions. The president of one of the courts, to whom I complained, after moralizing concerning the vanity of earthly, and the reality of heavenly hopes, in a letter told me, "It might be the will of God that I should be treated with injustice. He could afford me no help, for he had received her majesty's commands."—The referendary Gravenitz himself, in 1778, with tears in his eyes, acknowledged how much he had injured me, affirmed he had been deceived, and promised he would endeavour to obtain restitution. I was moved, and forgave him, and he attempted to keep his promise; but his power declined, his corruptions had been manifest, the bribes he had received were become too public. He was at length dispossessed of his post, but, alas! too late for me. He now lives, like the greater part of my enemies, a banished man in Poland, despised, and in poverty. Two other of my judges are at this time obliged, in chains, to sweep the streets of Vienna, where they are condemned to the house of correction. Had this been their employment, instead of being seated on the seat of judgment, twenty years ago, I might have been more fortunate. It certainly is a remarkable circumstance, that I should so often and so continually have been despoiled by unjust judges. Who would have dared to have published their deserts during the plenitude of their power? Who would have had the temerity to affirm, their evil deeds should hereafter bring them to attend on the city scavenger? I indeed knew them but too well, and, fearless, spoke what I knew. But I was a restless man! A slanderer of imperial courts of justice I!

It was my misfortune, not my fault, that I was acquainted with their mal-practices, sooner than my gracious sovereign.

Here let the scene close on my litigations at Aix-la-Chapelle and Vienna. May God preserve every honest man from the like! True it is they hang heavy on my heart. They have swallowed up my own property and that of my innocent wife. Enough! Enough!

From the year 1774 to 1777, I chiefly spent my time in journeying through England and France. I was intimate with Dr. Franklin, the American minister, and with the counts St. Germain and de Vergennes, who made me advantageous proposals to go to America; but I was prevented accepting them by my affection for my wife and children.

My kind friend the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, who had been governor of Magdeburgh during my imprisonment, offered me a commission in his service among the troops going to America; but I answered—

“Gracious prince, my heart beats in the cause of freedom only, I will never assist in enslaving men. Were I at the head of your brave grenadiers, I should revolt to the Americans.”

During the year 1775 I continued at Aix-la-Chapelle my periodical essays, entitled, “The Friend of Men.” My writings had made some impression; the people began to read; the monks were ridiculed, and become more humble; my partisans increased, and their arch-leader had the good fortune to get himself cudgelled.

They did not now mention my name publicly, but catechised their penitents at confession. During this year various simple people came to me from Cologne, Bonn, and Dusseldorf, desiring to speak with me in private. When I inquired their business, they told me their clergy had informed them I was propagating a new religion, in which every man must sign himself over to the devil, who then would supply them with money. They were willing to become converts to my faith, would Belzebub but give

them money, and revenge them on their priests. "My good friends," answered I, "your teachers have deceived you : I know of no devils but themselves. Were it indeed true that I was founding a new religion, the converts to which the devil would supply with money, your bishops and priests would be the very first of my apostles, and the most catholic. I am an honest moral man, my friends, as a Christian ought to be. Go home, in God's name, and do your duty. Be honest and industrious, and you will not then want the devil to bring you money."

I forgot to mention in its place, that the recorder, or president of the sheriff's court at Aix-la-Chapelle, who is the son of the banker Geyer, and who is called Baron Geyer, had associated himself, in 1778, with a Jew convert, and a knight of industry ; and that this noble company, in concert, swindled a Dutch merchant out of eighty thousand florins, by assuming the arms of the elector Palatine, and producing forged receipts and contracts. Geyer was taken in Amsterdam, and would have been hanged, but that, by the aid of a faithful servant, he effected his escape. He returned to Aix-la-Chapelle, where he enjoys his honourable office.—Three years ago it was proved he had robbed the town-chamber. His handsome wife was, at that time, *generis communis*, and procured him powerful friends at court. The assertions of this worthy gentleman found greater credit at Vienna than those of the innocent, the injured Trenck. Oh, shame ! shame !—Oh, world ! world ! world !

My wine trade was so successful, that I had correspondents and stores in London, Paris, Bruxelles, Hamburg, and the Hague ; and had gained forty thousand florins, with the most flattering prospects from England. One unfortunate day destroyed all my successful hopes in this traffic.

Being in London, I was defrauded of eighteen hundred guineas by a swindler. The relating of this story will do but little honour to the English nation. The fault was

principally my brother-in-law's, a young man, who parted with the wine before he had received the money. In England there is no law against such deceivers. They bid you trust nobody; you will then not be wronged. And when I had been wronged, and asked my friend's assistance, I was only laughed at; as if they were happy that an Englishman had the wit to cheat a German. I cannot give a circumstantial history of this affair, but it is necessary to narrate it in the abstract, our prejudices being so strong in favour of the great worth and justice of the British nation.

Finding myself defrauded of my wine, I hastened to Sir John Fielding. He was acquainted with me, told me he knew I had been swindled, and that his friendship would make him active in my behalf; that he also knew the houses where my wine was deposited, and that a party of his runners should go with me, sufficiently strong for its recovery. I was little aware that he had at that time two hundred bottles of my best Tokay in his cellar. His pretended kindness was a snare; he was in partnership with robbers, the stupid among whom only he hung, and preserved the most adroit for the promotion of trade.

He sent a constable and six of his runners with me, commanding them to act under my orders. By good fortune I had a violent head-ache, and could not attend them myself, but sent my brother-in-law, who spoke better English than I. Him they brought to the house of a Jew, and told him, "Your wine, sir, is here concealed." Though it was broad day, the door was locked, that he might be induced to act illegally. The constable desired him to break the door open, which he accordingly did: the Jews, in a pretended fright, came running, and asked—"What do you want, gentlemen?"—"I want my wine," answered my brother.—"Take what is your own," replied a Jew, "but beware of touching my property. I have bought the wine."

My brother attended the constable and runners into a cellar, and there found great part of my wine. He wrote

to Sir John Fielding, that he had found the wine, and desired to know how he was to act. Fielding, by a verbal message, said—"It must be taken by the owner."—My brother accordingly got a cart, and sent me the wine.

He attended the runners, in like manner, to the house of another Jew, where they proceeded as before ; and he came back, quite rejoiced at having recovered the wine.

Next day came a constable, with a warrant, saying, "He wanted to speak with my brother ; and that it was to go to my friend Sir John Fielding." When he was in the street, he touched him with his staff, and told him—"Sir, you are my prisoner."—Here it must be remarked, that no man can be arrested in his own house in London ; but that, when he is in the street, and the constable has touched him with his staff, he is beyond delivery ; and, should he run, would be stopped by the people.

All this I was a spectator of through the window, unable to give any assistance. I went, however, to Sir John Fielding, and asked what it all meant ? This upright justice answered, in a magisterial tone—That my brother had been accused of felony. The Jews and swindlers had sworn the wine was a legal purchase. If I had not taken care to be paid, or was ignorant of the English laws, that was my fault. Six swindlers had sworn the wine was paid for ; which circumstance he had not known, or he should not have granted me a warrant. My brother had also broken open doors, and forcibly taken away wine which was not his own. They had legally made oath of this, and he was charged with burglary and robbery.

He farther desired me immediately to give bail, in a thousand guineas, for my brother, for his appearance in the court of king's bench ; otherwise his trial would immediately come on, and in a few days he would be hanged.

What was my rage at finding myself thus treated ! and how willingly would I have plunged my sword in the breast of a man so vile as this chief magistrate of London !

I hastened to a lawyer, who was my friend, who confirmed

what had been told me, advised me immediately to give bail, and he would then defend my cause. I applied to lord Mansfield, and received the same answer. I told my story to all my great friends, who were chiefly members of parliament; and they laughed at me for attempting to trade in London, without better understanding the laws. My intimate friend, lord Grosvenor, said, "Send more wine to London, and we will pay you so well that you will soon recover your loss."—This is the character of the nation. I am certain he would have kept his word, but I wanted the necessary capital.

I went to my wine-merchants, who had stock in hand of mine worth upward of a thousand guineas. They gave bail for my brother, and in four days he was released.

Fielding, in the interim, sent his runners to my house, took back the wine, and restored it to the Jews, as property of which they had been robbed. They threatened farther to prosecute me as a receiver of stolen goods. I fled in all haste from London, through Dover, to Paris, where I immediately sold off my remaining stock at half price, honoured my bills, and so ended my merchandize.

My brother returned to London in November, to defend his cause in the court of king's bench; but the swindlers had disappeared, and the lawyer required a hundred pounds to proceed. The conclusion of all this was, my brother returned with seventy pounds less in his pocket, spent as travelling expenses; and the stock in the hands of my wine-merchants was detained on pretence of paying the bail. They brought me in an apothecary's bill, and all was lost. Thus do the English treat the Germans, notwithstanding I had so many friends in London.

I might fill a volume with similar instances. I shall only relate one short story. A German violin-maker in London, intending to return home, had bought his wife a silver coffee-pot, which was left standing on the table in his chamber. Some one knocked at the door, and two Jews entered. One bespoke a violin; the other, while he was conversing,

snatched up the coffee-pot, and ran. The German looked round, and missed the coffee-pot; but the other Jew told him, "Do not be uneasy, my friend, go with me, and I will make my comrade give you back your coffee-pot. It is only some trick: he is a mad-headed fellow."

The poor German went with the Jew, who brought him into a chamber where were four other Jews, and his coffee-pot on the table. He took it, and said, "God be praised, I have found it once more." The Jew answered not a word; and the German returned home with his coffee-pot. Forthwith went five Israelites to the justice, and swore that the German had entered their chamber, and stolen thereout a silver coffee-pot. A constable attended them to the German's house. The Jew said, "That is my coffee-pot:" and the other swearers answered, "Yes, that is yours." The German was taken into custody, and, being destitute of witnesses, was hung upon the evidence of the five Jews.

I spoke with this poor fellow in prison, who told me the story himself, and I actually saw this honest man hung by the pitiless English. What will my readers now say to this highly-esteemed nation, which, in reality, for a thousand reasons, merits our contempt?

Enough of the proud and selfish Britons, who would treat us, and all other nations, as they do their negroes, were we to fall under their dominion!*

* The names of the wine merehants are omitted in the translation; the baron may have been mistaken, they *may* have acted honestly. There is no doubt of the baron's veracity; that is, speaking from the conviction of his own mind. He was in England, and, as he himself asserts, most shamefully swindled; those concerned have since become notorious. The perplexities of the law daily expose the natives themselves to the arts of the dishonest. This is an inevitable defect, the consequence of an advantage the value of which foreigners seldom understand: they are, from temperament, more hasty than the English; they have been accustomed, in states less free, when injustice is manifest, to more summary proceedings; and, when they have any dispute in England, they usually fall into the very worst hands. Let us hope the baron was misinformed, was hasty, and that the memory of Sir John Fielding has been wronged! If not—!

The baron so little knew how he was to act, that it is impossible,

Many other particulars remain to be told of Aix-la-Chapelle, for which I have not sufficient room in this place.

The Swedish general, Sprengporten, came to Aix-la-Chapelle in the year 1776. He had planned and carried into execution the revolution so highly favourable to the king, but had suddenly left Sweden in discontent, and came to take the waters with a rooted hypochondria.

He was the most dangerous man in Sweden, and had told the king himself, after the revolution, in the presence of his guards, "While Sprengporten can hold a sword, the king has nothing to command."

It was feared he would go to Russia; and Prince Charles wrote to me, in the name of the monarch, desiring I would exert myself, to the utmost, to become intimate with him, and persuade him to return to Sweden. No task could have been more difficult. He was a man of unbounded pride; which, notwithstanding the greatness of his abilities, rendered him either a fool or a madman. He likewise despised every thing that was not Swedish.

Never did I undertake any affair with more ardour or better success: I accomplished my purpose, gained his friendship, an unlimited power over his mind, and restored him to his king and country.

The Prussian minister, count Hertzberg, the same year came to Aix-la-Chapelle. I enjoyed the honour of his society and conversation three months, and every where accompanied this great man. To his liberality am I indebted,

from his narrative, to say whether his brother was arrested as a debtor, or imprisoned as a felon. His perplexity and distress inspire abhorrence for those instruments by whom, instead of vigorously protecting an uninformed stranger, they were increased. The liberal-minded Englishman will pardon his severity on the nation, remembering how he was treated; though by individuals whom this and every nation must pity and despise. The story of the poor German and his coffee-pot, if the baron was not deceived, is indeed a tragical one; yet, would the oaths of five Jews have hung five hundred, or five thousand, Englishmen, were they equally destitute of the means to prove the falsity of such accusations. Not the laws, not the nation, wicked men only can be accusd of such a murder.

that I can, at present, return to my country with honour.—As often as they read this, let my children remember the reasons I have had for inculcating this gratitude in their infant hearts.

The time I had to spare was not spent in idleness ; I attacked those sharpers, in my weekly writings, who attend at Aix-la-Chapelle and Spa, to plunder both inhabitants and visitants under the connivance of the magistracy : nor are there wanting foreign noblemen, who become the associates of these pests of society. The publication of such truths endangered my life from some of the desperadoes, who, when detected, had nothing more to lose. How powerful is an innocent life, how great that presence of mind which conscious virtue inspires, nothing can more fully prove, than that I still exist in despite of all the attempts of wicked and ignorant monks, and despicable sharpers.

Though my life was much disturbed, yet do I not repent of my manner of acting : many a youth, many a brave and worthy man, have I preserved from destruction, detained from the gaming-table, and personally pointed out to them the most notorious sharpers. This was so injurious to Spa, that the bishop of Liege himself, who enjoys a tax of forty per cent. on all their winnings, and therefore protects such villains, offered me an annual pension of five hundred guineas if I would not come to Spa, or three per cent. on the winnings would I but associate myself with colonel N——t, and raise recruits for the gaming-table. My answer may easily be imagined ; yet for this was I threatened to be excommunicated by the holy catholic church.

I and my family passed the greatest part of sixteen summers in Spa. My house became the rendezvous of the best and most respectable part of the company, and I was personally known to some of the most respectable characters in Europe.

Through life it has been my constant desire to act for the benefit of others, and to obtain justice for the whole world as well as for myself. Fatal experience has convinced me

how visionary such schemes are.—By an effort of this kind I gave myself new cause of uneasiness.

A contest arose between the town of Aix-la-Chapelle and baron Blankart, the master of the hounds to the elector Palatine : it originated in a dispute concerning precedence, between the before-mentioned wife of the recorder, Geyer (who was at this time mistress to baron Blankart, and also to a young canon of the church), and the sister of the burgomaster of Aix-la-Chapelle, Kahr, who governed that town with oriental despotism.

This quarrel was highly detrimental to the town, and to the elector Palatine ; but, at the same time, highly profitable to Kahr, whose office it was to protect the rights of the town, as well as to those persons who were deputed to defend the claims of the elector : the latter kept a faro-bank, the plunder of which had before enriched the town ; and the former, Kahr, under pretence of defending their cause, embezzled the money of the people : so that both parties, instead of wishing to end, endeavoured, with all their power, to prolong the litigation.

It vexed me to the heart to see their proceedings. Those who suffered, on each side, were deceived ; and I conceived the vain project of exposing the truth, and obliging these dishonest agents to an accommodation. For this purpose I journeyed to the electoral court at Manheim, related the facts to the elector, produced a plan of accommodation, which he approved, and obtained full powers to act as arbitrator. The minister of the elector, Bekhers, pretended highly to approve my honest zeal, conducted me himself to an audience, made me dine at his house, took me to the opera, said a commission was made out for my son, and forwarded to Aix-la-Chapelle, which was a falsity ; and, the moment he quitted me, sent post to Aix-la-Chapelle, thereby to frustrate the very attempt he pretended so much to applaud. He was himself in league with the parties. In fine, this honest, but silly interference in what did not concern me, brought me only trouble, expence, and chagrin. I

made five ineffectual journies to Mannheim ; till at length I became so dissatisfied, that I determined to quit Aix-la-Chapelle, and purchase an estate in Austria, where I might live in philosophic ease, and pursue the innocent avocations of agriculture.

The Bavarian contest was at this time in agitation: my own affairs brought me to Paris, and here I learned particular intelligence of great consequence: this I communicated to the great duke of Florence, on my return to Vienna. The duke departed to join the army in Bohemia, and I had occasion again to write to him, and, from the importance of the subject, thought it my duty to send a courier, at my own expence. The duke showed my letter to the emperor; my intelligence was received, but I myself remained unnoticed.

I did not think myself very safe, in foreign countries, during the time of war, and therefore purchased the lordship of Zwerbach, with appurtenances, which, with the concomitant expences, cost me sixty thousand florins. This lordship was in a ruinous condition, and was to be restored by my money and industry.

To conclude this purchase, I was obliged, at great expence, to solicit, during eleven months, the referendary Zetto, whose present habitation is the house of correction, and his good friend whom he had appointed as my curator, and my new estate was likewise made a *fidei commissum*; for my kind referendaries and curators would not let me escape contribution. The six thousand florins of which, in one year, they exonerated my purse, would have done my family much service.

In May, 1780, I went to Aix-la-Chapelle, where my wife's mother died, in July; and in September, my wife, myself, and family, all came to Vienna.

My wife solicited the mistress of the ceremonies to obtain an audience. Her request was granted; and she had the good fortune to gain the entire approbation and favour of the empress. Her kindness was beyond expression: she herself introduced my wife to the arch-duchess, as an example for

women, and commanded her grand-mistress of the ceremonies to present her every where. "You were unwilling," said she, "to accompany your husband into my country; but I hope to convince you that you may live happier in Austria than at Aix-la-Chapelle." She said many other things equally kind.

She next day sent me her decree, assuring me of a pension of four hundred florins; adding, this should not be all she would do for me.

My wife petitioned the empress to grant me an audience. Her request was complied with; and the empress said to me, "This is the third time in which I would have made your fortune, had you been so disposed." The audience lasted long; her discourse was that of a matron. She desired to see my children, adding, "So excellent a mother must have brought you charming children." She then spoke of my writings, "How much good might you do," said she, "would you but write in the cause of religion!"

The prospect now seemed to brighten, and a happy future to approach. My wife received more honour and attention, while she remained at Vienna, than many of the first ladies in the city.

We departed for Zwerbach, where we lived contentedly; but when we were preparing to return to Vienna, and solicit the restitution of a part of my lost fortune during this momentary sunshine of the court the great Theresa died, and all my hopes were overcast.

I forgot to relate, that, after my favourable audience, the arch-duchess, Maria Anna, spoke to me in the name of the empress, and desired me to translate a religious work, written in French by the abbé Baudrand, into German. I replied, I should have little success in translation, but that I would obey her majesty's commands. I began my work, took passages from Baudrand, but inserted more of my own; though the censor was less fastidious in the examination of what was entitled a translation. The first volume was finished in six weeks; the empress thought it admirable.

The second soon followed, and I presented this myself. She asked me if it equalled the first : I answered, I hoped it would be found more excellent. " No," said she, " I never in my life read a better book;" and added, she much wondered how I could write so well and so quick. I promised another volume within a month.

Before the third was ready, Theresa died, and my expectations descended with her to the grave. She continually gave orders, on her death-bed, to have the writings of baron Trenck read to her ; and, though her confessor well knew the injustice that had been done me, and all I had lost, yet, in these her last moments, when he had the most favourable of all opportunities, he kept a dastardly silence, though he had given me his sacred promise to speak in my behalf.

The censor permitted me after her death, and the arch-duchess even commanded, that I should print what I have here stated in the preface to that third volume ; and this was my only satisfaction.

Untoward, indeed, has ever been my fate. For one and thirty years had I been soliciting my right, which I never could obtain, because the empress was deceived by wicked men, and believed me an arch-heretic. In the thirty-second my wife had the good fortune to convince her this was false; she had determined to make me restitution, and my children fortunate ; and just at this moment she died.

Oh Fortune, how dost thou sport with the passions of men ! Yet was it not so much the fault of fortune as of myself ; I was at length humble enough to accept justice as a favour ; but then it was too late. My heart was conscious of not needing favour or forgiveness, for I had never done ill ; therefore did I continue unfortunate ; I chose the narrow path of innocence, my enemies the open field of vice. Their station was the strongest, and they have kept possession :—all contest is now past, I am too old, and need rest.

For my children's sake have I written this history, have

told these open truths, which perhaps may draw down new persecutions on my head. The friends of innocence will be their friends. I have taught them to live satisfied in this world with what is necessary, and without that which is superfluous. Be this their inheritance, instead of their great Slavonian estates; for the rest, I leave it to God, and that good fame in which their forefathers have always lived.

The pension granted my wife by the empress, in consequence of my misfortunes, and our numerous family, we only enjoyed nine months.

Of this she was deprived by the new monarch, who suppressed that, and various other pensions, as burthensome to the state. He perhaps knew nothing of the affair, as I never solicited. Yet much has it grieved me. Perhaps I may find relief when the sighs wrung from me shall reach the heart of the father of his people, in this my last writing. At present nothing for me remains but to live unknown, and buried in Zwerbach.

After the death of the empress, that I might fulfil every duty to my family, I wrote to the emperor, desirous to be fully informed of what I had to hope. This was my memorial.

“ Most gracious emperor,

“ In a work printed at Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1772, the most essential parts of which I had the honour to present to you in 1765, in manuscript, is the following passage :

“ All oppressed subjects ought, at stated hours, to have access to the throne; those who should prefer false complaints, seek to deceive, or to obtain unmerited favours, ought to be made public examples, and stand mutilated in the pillory.’

“ I, most gracious sovereign, am the first who will pronounce judgment on myself, if I am not able to prove I have been most unjustly oppressed under the reign of the great Maria Theresa, and deprived of an immense property by unjust judges and men in power :—I therefore humbly pray

a judge may be appointed, before whom I may be permitted to produce my proofs.

“ I am, gracious monarch, your ever faithful subject,

“ TRENCK.”

In vain did I hope an answer : my petition remained unnoticed, unregarded.

The emperor thought proper to collect the legacies and monies bestowed on hospitals into one fund. The system was wise and good. My cousin Trenck, as I have before said, had bequeathed thirty-six-thousand florins to an hospital for the poor of Bavaria, who had been ruined by him and his pandours. This I showed he had no right to do, having deducted the sum from the family estates ; I therefore petitioned the emperor that these thirty-six thousand florins might be restored, as by right they ought, to me and my children, who were the people whom Trenck had indeed made poor, nothing of the property of his acquiring having been left to pay this legacy, but, on the contrary, the money having been violently exacted from mine.

Alas ! The memorial came before those who were ill informed of the truth, or deemed the inquiry too laborious. In a few days it was determined I should be answered in the same tone in which, for six and-thirty years past, all my petitions and remonstrances had been answered :

THE REQUEST OF THE PETITIONER CANNOT BE GRANTED.

Fortune, my irreconcilable enemy, persecuted me even in my retreat. Within six years, two destructive hail-storms swept away my crops ; one year was a misgrowth ; there were seven floods ; a rot among my sheep ; all possible calamities befel me and my manor.

The estate had been totally ruined, the ponds were to drain, the mansion-house to repair, three farms were to be put into a proper condition, and the whole new stocked. This rendered me poor, especially as my wife's fortune had been sunken in law-suits at Aix-la-Chapelle and Cologne.

The unfortunate, miserable peasants had nothing, therefore—could pay nothing; I, on the contrary, was obliged to advance them money. My sons assisted me; and we laboured with our hands: my wife, an excellent woman, though accustomed to the affluence of the great world, yet, anxious to fulfil the duties of a mother, took care of eight children, without so much as the help of a maid. We lived in poverty and wretchedness, obliged to earn our daily bread by the sweat of our brow; and had the emperor, by chance, amid his peregrinations, visited Zwerbach, he would have beheld the abode of industry and virtue, exerting themselves to fulfil all the duties of man, and our sufferings had certainly been less severe.

Enough! I have aided myself. The monarch, who oppressed, never beheld me crouching to his power. I have deserved a fate more favourable; I avoided a place where men are not actuated by the love of men, and hid myself in my Zwerbach: I sighed, said nothing, wrote much, feared no man, and rather desired to seek the world's utmost boundaries than live a witness of certain scenes.

The greatest of all my misfortunes was my treatment in the military court, where Zetto and Krugel were my referendaries. Zetto had clogged me with a curator; and when the cow had no more milk to give, they then began to torture me with deputations, sequestrations, administrations, and executions. Nineteen times was I obliged, personally, to attend at Vienna within two years, and to travel fourteen posts, each time at my own expence. This alone ate up my income. Every six years must I pay an attorney to dispute, wrangle, and quarrel, in my behalf, with the curator. Their mutual squabbles filled huge rolls of writing, for all of which I, in the conclusion, was obliged to pay. If any affair was to be expedited, I, by a third hand, was obliged to send the referendary some excellent ducats. Did he give judgment, still that judgment lay fourteen months inefficient; and when it then appeared, the copy was false, and so was sent

to the upper courts, the high referendary of which said "I must be dislodged from Zwerbach."

True it is, no such sentence was ever inserted in their proceedings, and, probably, he in turn may be dislodged himself from the seat of judgment, and once more become the companion of the honourable Zetto, in the house of correction. So shall his power be lost, to dislodge, to banish worthy citizens from the territories of Austria.

They obliged me at last to purchase my naturalization. I sent to Prussia for my pedigree, where the family had been known four hundred years; the attestation of this was sent me by count Hertzberg. Although the family of Trenck had a hundred years been landholders in Hungary, yet was my attorney, by order of the court, obliged to solicit the instrument called *ritter-diploma*, for which, under pain of execution, I must pay two thousand florins. Thus are men treated in Vienna, and this treatment I certainly shall not soon forget.

By decree, a Prussian nobleman is not noble in Austria. In Austria! Where every lackey, every worthless fellow, can purchase a diploma, making him a knight of the empire, for twelve hundred wretched florins! Where money is the only merit necessary for acquiring the title of count! Where such men as P—— and Grassalkowitz have purchased the dignity of PRINCE!

I am, at length, suffered to be at rest. They, by whom I was persecuted, instead of cleansing courts of justice, cleanse the streets. They may, perhaps, soon have company.

Tortured by courts, terrified by hail-storms, I determined to dread them no more, determined to depend upon the productions of my pen, and to publish a collection of my works in eight volumes, and this history of my life.

Fourteen months accomplished this purpose. My labours found a favourable reception through all Germany, procured me money, esteem, and honour, and I will now no more struggle through my few remaining years under the burthen of law-suits, curators, referendaries, attornies, courts of

justice, and the unworthy in authority. I will live as if I never had possessed any property on this poor earth but what is included within my own head. By my own writings only will I seek the means of existence ; by my writings only endeavour to obtain the approbation and the love of men.

For this I need not be of any country, want no title, no protection, no court favour, no lordships, no particular place of abode, no uniform, no *Fidei commiss-curator* ! I am a free burgher of the world, dependent on no earthly prince ; and to my children I will leave my literary property. This nothing can confiscate.

* * * * *

On the 22d of August, 1786, the news arrived that Frederic the Great had left this world !

* * * * *

The present reigning monarch, the best among the friends of men, the witness of my sufferings in my native country, immediately sent me a royal passport for Berlin. The confiscation of my estates was annulled, and my deceased brother, in Prussia, had left my children his heirs !

* * * * *

I journey, with the imperial permission, back to my country, whence I have been two and forty years expelled ! I journey—not as a pardoned malefactor, but as a man whose innocence has been established by the whole tenour of his actions, has been proved in his writings, and who is journeying to receive his reward !

Here I shall once more encounter my old friends, my relations, and those who have known me in the day of my affliction. Here shall I appear, not as my country's traitor, but as my country's martyr ! The Martyr of Virtue !

What is the expansion of my soul at obtaining that for which I so long have laboured ! What my joy at the prospect of futurity, at the victory which fortitude, honour and truth, unshaken, have won ! I imagined my end would have been, what my life was, tragical ! But a different

scene opens to my view. On this resplendent scene shall I once again appear ; and now have I to prove I am the very man I have so often asserted myself to be, in this mournful history. Yet is it a great undertaking for a grey head, become grey in its contests with misfortune, and requiring retirement and rest. Slumbering ambition, lulled by philosophy, again is roused, animates and inspires my soul, prompting me to seek that reward for others which once I sought for myself. To them I leave my name and rights ; to them, whom, not requiring their consent, I called into existence—who, from the example of their father, contemplating the past, might imagine this nether world only the hell of man, and that they must first expect the rewards of virtue beyond the grave, had they not learned, from my example, also to expect better of futurity. Yes, for my eight children will I still live ; I will conduct them into those paths of honour in which I was myself conducted by my ancestors : paths to me so gloomy, yet so glorious.

Safe am I arrived in the haven, a weather-beaten, but experienced, shipman, enabled to indicate the hidden rocks and quicksands of this life's perturbed shores ;—often have I struck, often been wrecked, but never foundered.

Possible, though little probable, are still future storms. For these, also, am I prepared. Long had I reason daily to curse the rising sun,—and, to behold it setting, with horror. Death to me appears the greatest benefit ; a certain passage from agitation to peace, from motion to rest. I fear not the terrific dreams of futurity. As for my children, they, jocund in youth, delight in present existence. When I have fulfilled the duties of a father, to live or die will then be as I shall please ; nor is it impossible but a remarkable supplement may follow the strange vicissitudes of this my life, in which I may speak more openly of things I have been, in prudence, obliged partly to conceal.

Thou, oh God ! my righteous judge, didst ordain that I should be, that I might remain, an example of suffering to the world ; thou madest me what I am ; gavest me these

strong passions, these quick nerves, this universal glow, this thrilling of the blood, when I behold injustice. Strong was my mind, that deeply it might meditate on deep subjects ; strong my memory, that these meditations I might retain ; strong my body, that proudly it might support all it has pleased thee to inflict.

With the eyes of philosophy I contemplate the good God, who himself is void of wrath, revenge, or the passions by which his poor creatures are tortured. Him have I to thank for enabling me to encounter and to conquer a host of troubles, and leaving me still in being to reap the fruits of my victories.

Should I continue to exist, should identity go with me, and should I know what I was then, when I was called Trenck ; when that combination of particles which Nature commanded should compose this body shall be decomposed, scattered, or in other bodies united ; when I have no muscles to act, no brain to think, no retina on which pictures can mechanically be painted, my eyes wasted, and no tongue remaining to pronounce the Creator's name ; should I still behold a Creator, then, oh then, will my spirit mount, and indubitably associate with the spirits of the just, that expectant wait their golden harps, and glorious crowns, from the most high God—For human weaknesses, human failings, arising from our nature, springing from our temperament, which the Creator has ordained shall be even thus, and no otherwise ; for these have I suffered enough on earth ; for these can I have nothing to fear beyond the grave, from a just God, who made me man, and not angel, and stationed me in that world in which his own hand had mingled good and evil.

Such is my confession of faith : in this have I lived, in this will I die. The duties of a man and of a Christian I have strove to fulfil—nay, often have been too benevolent, too generous ; perhaps also too proud, too vain ; I could not bend, although liable to be broken. Many a sleepless night has a noble thirst of knowledge made me pass.

Existence was given man to be employed—I shall have sleep enough in eternal night.

That I have not served the world in acts and employments where best I might, is, perhaps, my own fault; the fault of my manner, which is now too radical to be corrected in this my sixtieth year.—Yes, I acknowledge my failing, acknowledge it unblushingly; nay glory in the pride of a noble nature. Joy shall spring up and quicken in my heart, when my example, the instructions I give to youth, shall teach them, idle and thoughtless as they often are, virtue and wisdom, and thus ensure their happiness. Joy shall make my white locks again youthful, when grey beards shall learn, from me, to think and act more honourably, and to die tranquilly. Joy shall again enlighten my soul, when the deceitful shall become honest; the idle industrious; the ignorant learned; the slave a free man; and the man of sin, upright, just, and benevolent.

For myself, I ask nothing of those who, having read my history, shall become my friends, for nothing I need; but to them do I commit my wife and children. My eldest son is a lieutenant in the Tuscany regiment of cavalry, under general Lascy, and does honour to his father's principles. The second serves his present Prussian Majesty, as ensign in the Posadowsky dragoons, with equal promise. The third is still a child.—My daughters will make worthy men happy, for they have imbibed virtue and gentleness with their mother's milk. Monarchs may hereafter remember what I have suffered, what I have lost, and what is due to my ashes. With this reflexion I calmly quit the world.

Here do I publicly declare—I will seek no other revenge against my enemies than that of despising their evil deeds. It is my wish, and shall be my endeavour, difficult as is the task, to forget the past; and, having committed no offence, neither will I solicit monarchs for favour, and posts of honour; but, as I have lived a free man, a free man will I die.

Let the wise and benevolent reader grant me compassion,

and, by my example, avoid much of that misery in which too much rashness, or too little caution, has involved me.

He, whose untimely ambition impels him to undertakings beyond his strength ; he, who concerns himself with affairs not properly his own ; he who erects himself into a reformer of this world's abuses, will be the martyr of virtue, or perhaps, the dupe of folly ; and, after having lived persecuted, many even have the fortune to die despised.

I conclude this part of my history on the evening preceding my journey to Berlin. Now, when I take leave of my beloved wife and children, grant, oh God, that for them I may journey !—God grant I may encounter no new afflictions.—Higher and better be my hopes.

TRENCK.

Dated at the Castle of Zwerbach,

December 18th, 1786.

I made preparations for my journey to Berlin, whence the magnanimous Frederic William sent me the desired passport. This journey I cheerfully prepared to undertake ; but my ever-envious fate threw me on the bed of sickness, insomuch that small hope remained I ever should again behold the country of my forefathers, or outlive the moment which I had been twenty years in anxious expectation of beholding. I seemed following the *Great Frederic* to the mansions of the dead ; then should I never have written this account, or obtained the victory, by which I am now so gloriously crowned.

A variety of obstacles being overcome, I found it necessary to make a journey into Hungary, which was one of the most renovating and pleasant of my whole life.

Wherever I went, especially at Osen and Pest, I met that honourable reception, that sensibility of soul, the full enjoyment of which he only can feel who solely seeks the approbation of the wise, the worthy, and the just. I have no words to express my sensations, my ardent wishes for the welfare of a nation, where I met so many proofs of ho-

nourable friendship. Wherever I appeared I was welcomed, and followed with that love and enthusiasm which only await the fathers of their country. The valour of my cousin Trenck, who died ingloriously in the Spielberg, the loss of my great Hungarian estates, the fame of my writings, and the cruelty of my sufferings, had gone before me. These must I thank for a reception which I never can forget. The officers of the army, the nobles of the land, alike testified the warmth of their esteem.

Such is the reward of the upright; such too are the proofs that this nation knows the just value of fortitude and virtue. Have I not reason to glory in this; to publish my gratitude, and to recommend my children to those who, when I am no more, shall dare uprightly to determine concerning the rights which have unjustly been snatched from me in Hungary? For myself I am content, nay rewarded, when commiserated as a martyr to the love of truth, of which I have ever stood the undaunted advocate.

Not a man in Hungary, those only excepted who were interested in my oppression, but will proclaim I have been unjustly dealt by: yet have I good reason to suspect I never shall find redress. Sentence has been already given; judges, more honest, cannot, without difficulty, reverse old decrees; and the present possessors of my fine estates are also too powerful, too intimate with the governors of the earth, for me to hope I shall hereafter be more happy. God knows my heart:—I wish the present possessors may render services to the state equal to those rendered by the family of the Trencks,—or to those that family would have rendered, had its capability, and the uprightness of its intentions, been sooner and more properly estimated.

There is little probability I should ever behold my worthy and noble friends in Hungary more. Here I bid them adieu, promising them to endeavour to pass the remainder of my life still so as to merit the approbation of a people, with whose ashes I would most willingly have mingled my own. May the God of heaven prosper their undertakings! May

the God of heaven preserve every Hungarian from a fate similar to mine ! A fate, which still unredressed, I suffer ; and, with sighs and despair, to suffer must still continue.

The Croats have ever been reckoned rude and uncultivated. In Vienna men talk of their seminaries, their academies, and their science ; yet among this rude and uncultivated people I found more subscribers to my writings than among all the learned men of Vienna, and in Hungary more than in all the remainder of the Austrian dominions.

The wise literati of the capital are little in quest of freedom. The Hungarians, the unlettered Croats, seek information. The polished people of Vienna ask their confessors permission to read instructive books. Various subscribers, having read the first volume of my works, brought it back, and re-demanded their money, because some monk had told them it was a book dangerous to be read. The very judges of their courts have re-sold them to the booksellers for a few pence, or given them to those who had the care of their consciences, to burn.

The Hungarians have read with avidity ; have thanked me most sincerely for the instruction they had received, and the attempts I had made to destroy vulgar prejudices. In Vienna alone was my life decried as a romance ; in Hungary, on the contrary, I found the compassion of men, their friendship, and effectual aid. Had my book been the production of an Englishman, good wishes would not have been his only reward : lords and ladies would have subscribed to have procured him ease, and the state itself would have selected him as a man who, in justice, must have retribution.

We poor German writers have censors and interested critics to encounter, if we would speak truth, and unmask injustice ; and, if a book finds a rapid sale, mean and dishonest printers issue spurious editions, defrauding the author of his labours. Such privileged wretches derive profit from theft, yet associate themselves in companies, appear in the society of honest men, and are enabled, by their ill-got-

ten gains, to purchase patents of nobility at Vienna: yet courts of justice, that would execute a man as a thief, whom hunger had compelled to steal a loaf of bread, behold these practices with indifference. Such governments are ignorant of the real influence of knowledge on the wealth and power of states. To keep the useful writer poor and unprotected, or not to incite his industry by honour and reward, is political ignorance, and error of infinite importance.

Want of teachers is want of knowledge. Men of genius, unsupported, will quit their country; or, if they remain, will be devoured by chagrin and conflicting passions, or waste their lives in exertions merely mechanical. Industry unrewarded, slumbers inactive; and, where true science is not, there will the libraries and minds of men be loaded with contemptible and destructive theological disputes. Priestcraft and Rome flourish, and the state remains in ignorance. Useful men are wanting in countries where the canons of the church and military tactics can subject and destroy, but cannot enlighten and regenerate.

The encouragement of the learned produces able and scientific teachers, and, from their seminaries, men of genius occasionally come forth. If obliged to write for their daily bread, the minds of such men begin to despond; paid by the sheet, they write hastily, instead of producing those beautiful original works, of which they are capable. The world is thus inundated with books and pamphlets; the undiscerning reader knows not which to select; the more intelligent are disgusted, or do not read at all; and a work of merit thus becomes as little profitable to the author as to the state.

The reader will pardon this digression; and will further permit me to remark, that those critical writings, the intent of which is only to discover faults in, and blame all other writings, serve but to depress the first efforts of genius, and injure the best of authors in the opinion of the ill-judging; yet he who criticises will gain as much as he who invents.

Those who have read the writings of Gellert are still desirous of hearing what slander and envy have to allege.

Curiosity induces us to seek the aid of optics, that we may discover the spots in the sun ; and those the simple gazer imagines he has seen, when the impostor, that presents the telescope, has previously spotted the glass.

The man who invents does but smile at those who attend only to the order of words, or the placing of commas, or who detect him in having, for a moment, forgotten his grammar : yet such insects must exist.—The caterpillar will destroy the bloom of the peach, nay, will devour the fruit ; but what should be said to the gardener, who, therefore, roots up the tree, or so lops its branches as to render it barren ;—what, indeed, should he plant the thistle in its place ? I left Vienna on the 5th of January, and came to Prague. Here I found nearly the same reception as in Hungary ; my writings had been universally read. Citizens, noblemen, and noble ladies, treated me with like favour and friendship :—may they, as they merit, live happy in connubial love ! May the monarch know how to value and employ men of generous feelings and enlarged understandings, whom here, contrary to expectation, I found !

I reluctantly bade adieu to Prague, and continued my journey to Berlin. Here, in Bohemia, I took leave of my son, a lieutenant in the second regiment of carabineers, who saw his grey-headed father, and his two brothers, destined for the Prussian service, depart. He felt the full weight of this separation : I reminded him of his duty to the state he served ; I spoke of the fearful fate of his uncle and father in Austria, and of the possessors of our vast estates in Hungary.—He shrunk back—a look from his father pierced him to the soul—tears stood in his eyes—his youthful blood flowed quick, and the following expressions burst suddenly from his lips :—“ I call God to witness, that I will prove myself worthy of my father’s name, and that, while I live, his enemies shall be mine.”

What are the feelings of a father, who in his son embraces his friend ! His brothers wept, nor could I retain my tears. The best opportunities this to instill the best of principles ;

and here I remind them of the holy covenant we then made ; charging them to read this, and remember it when I am laid low in the grave. The monarch, who shall wish to retain them in his service, may rest assured of their fidelity, zeal, and their powers of mind.—Actuated by the noblest spirit of ambition, they will endure no dishonour ; and so, not enduring, only will they fulfil my wishes and commands.

At Peterswalde, in the road to Dresden, my carriage broke down : my life was endangered, and my son received a contusion in the arm. The erysipelas broke out on him at Berlin, and I could not present him to the king during a month after my arrival.

I had been but a short time at Berlin before the well-known minister, count Hertzberg, with whom I had been acquainted at Aix-la-Chapelle, received me with all possible kindness. Every man to whom his private and internal worth are known, not seeking the addition of titles, will congratulate the state that has the wisdom and good fortune to bestow on him so high an office. His scholastic and practical learning, his knowledge of languages, his acquaintance with the profound sciences, are indeed wonderful. His discourse is eloquent, his writings are original, his character noble, and his heart feeling. His zeal for his country is ardent, his love of his king unprejudiced, his industry admirable, his firmness that of a man, and his behaviour in private amiable, and destitute of ministerial arrogance. He is the most experienced and best informed man in the Prussian states on the subject of internal economy. He harangues most instructively in the assemblies of the Royal Academy of Berlin, and speaks with equal affability and philanthropy to the poor peasant. The very enemies of his country may rely on his word : the establishment of the Prussian power is the object of his heart, though he is incapable of seeking even this in the insidious paths of Machiavelian politics. The artful he can encounter with art ; those who menace, with defiance and fortitude ; and, with wise foresight, can avert the rising

storm. The duties of his laborious station he himself fulfils. He seeks not splendour in sumptuous entertainments and ostentatious retinue ; but, if he can only enrich the state, and behold the people happy, he is himself willing to remain poor. His estate, Briess, near Berlin, is no Chanteloup, but a model for those patriots who would study economy. Here he, every Wednesday, after severe fatigue, enjoys recreation. The services he renders the kingdom cost it only five thousand rix-dollars yearly ; he therefore lives without ostentation, yet becoming his state, and with splendour when splendour is necessary. He does not, like other ministers, plunder the public treasury that he may preserve his own property. The labours he performs renders his life unenviable, nor will his death be rich.

This man, whom without flattery I have described, is he who will live so conspicuously in the annals of Prussia ;— he who was so incessantly employed under the great Frederic ; who so much contributed to make him great ; had so much influence in the cabinets of Europe ; so much drew the attention of thinking men ; who alone enjoyed the confidence and honour of being admitted a witness of the last actions, the last sensations of his dying king ; yet who, during his whole life, favoured as he was by this king, never asked, nor ever received the least gratuity. This is the minister whose personal conversation I had two months the happiness to partake at Aix-la-Chapelle and Spa, whose approbation I obtained, whose welfare is the wish of my heart, and whose memory I shall ever revere. Ample be the rewards his country shall bestow ! Never may envy detract from his merits, or disquiet his grey hairs, when he shall find reason, at length, to live for himself, or with glory to lay down that burthen, which no other single man will be found potent enough to bear !

I was received with distinction at his table, where I associated with the most learned members of the Berlin Academy, and became acquainted with those whose science most had benefited and honoured the Prussian states ; nor

was any thing more flattering to my self-love, than that men like these should think me worthy their friendship.

Not many days passed before I was presented at court by the Prussian chamberlain, prince Sacken ; as it is not customary at Berlin for a foreign subject to be presented by the minister of his own court. Though a Prussian subject, I wore the imperial uniform.

The king received me with remarkable condescension : all eyes were directed toward me, each person took me by the hand, each welcomed me to my country. This moved me the more by being remarked by the foreign ministers, who asked, with surprise, who that Austrian officer could be who was received with so much affection, and such evident joy, in Berlin. The gracious monarch himself gave tokens of a noble pleasure, at beholding me thus surrounded. Among the rest came the worthy and honourable general Pritwitz, who embraced me and said aloud—" This is the gentleman who might have ruined me, to effect his own deliverance."

Confused at so public a declaration, I desired him to expound this riddle ; and he added—

" I was obliged to be one of your guards on your unfortunate journey, from Dantzic to Magdeburg, in the year 1754, when I was a lieutenant. On the road I left my escort behind, and continued alone with you in an open carriage. This gave you an opportunity to escape, but you forbore. I afterwards saw the danger to which I had exposed myself. Had you been less noble minded, had such a prisoner escaped, through my negligence, I had certainly been ruined. The king believed you alike dangerous, and deserving of punishment. I, therefore, here publicly acknowledge you as my saviour, and am in gratitude your friend."

The reader need but refer to the preceding part of this volume, and he will find this noticed : but, when I wrote it, I knew not the generous man who wished me so well was the

present general Pritwitz. That he should himself remind me of this incident does him the greater honour.

The magnanimity of the action might be called in doubt by all who do not know, that, even in chains, I might have escaped, would I have deceived those who honoured me with their confidence. When imprisoned in Glatz, I was permitted to hunt; a friend remained in my bed, and I returned, as a man of honour ought. My established character in this respect was public in Magdeburg. I have given repeated proofs that I would not owe my own welfare to another's misfortune: yet I myself doubt the motives of my own conduct in journeying from Dantzic. The confidential manner in which I was treated lulled me into security; my conscience, void of guilt, could not lead me to dread the miseries of Magdeburg.—In fine, my fate so would have it that I should remain ten years imprisoned. Could I have foreseen, could I have suspected what I was to suffer, I should probably have escaped, and the worthy Pritwitz would have been cashiered.—In all the various accidents of life, when in danger, I have never hesitated, but suddenly resolved, and sometimes rashly—this journey alone excepted. Such is the intricacy of the fate of man, a clue to which the wise will not attempt to find. Why was I at one moment so irresolute, and so headstrong at every other? Why does the bravest soldier at certain times appear a coward, and, thereby, lose all former hard-earned fame? Why does the coward himself feel intervals of courage? The body's injuries add to, or diminish, the mind's vigour. The will depends on the stomach's concoction. He, whose rapid circulation never suffers him to stand still, yet cannot rise and dance if suffering from indigestion. If the weather be gloomy, so often will be the intellect. Such are mechanical causes: he who would seek reasons more sublime, which I have not to give, must apply to his guardian angel, or the swarming sprites of Swedenburg, and there he shall find shade without body, and body without shade.

Having been introduced at court, I thought it necessary to observe customary ceremonies, and was presented by the imperial ambassador, prince Reuss, to all foreign ministers, and such families as are in the routine of admitting such visits. I was received by the prince royal, the reigning queen, the queen dowager, and the whole royal family, in the various palaces, with esteem and favour never to be forgotten. His royal highness prince Henry, the well-known partaker of his brother's glory, invited me to a private audience, continued long in conversation with me, testified the utmost compassion at what I had undergone, promised me his future protection, admitted me to his private concerts, and made me stay and sup at court.

A like reception I experienced in the palace of prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, where I frequently dined and supped. His princess, well worthy a crown, took delight in hearing my narratives, and in my knowledge of men and manners, and loaded me with favours.

Prince Ferdinand's mode of educating his children is exemplary and well worthy imitation. From this family, the world, with good reason, has much to expect. The sons are instructed in the soldier's duties, their bodies are inured to the inclemencies of weather, such as the meanest man in any army must support ; they are taught to ride, to swim, and are steeled to all the fatigues of war. Therefore is their growth like the cedar in Lebanon, and their minds as exalted. Princely pride they only know to despise. Their hearts are formed for friendship, and pant to acquire all the fame of noble deeds, which, for this reason, they cannot fail to attain. Happy the state wherein they are born ! Happy the nation in defence of which they are to act !

Never yet has flattery degraded my pen, nor be it now suspected, when I say how highly I honour their noble mother, who has educated her sons for their country's good, teaching them not the effeminate and contemptible vices,

but the high duties of princes, accustoming them like men to labour, like men to grow wise.

I speak from knowledge, therefore my word is not liable to reproof. I have said too little. The selection of those who were to teach them wisdom, to improve their natural talents, instruct them to govern their passions, enlarge their views, and strengthen their love of mankind, was certainly most fortunate, and as well displays the penetration of those who chose them, as the views with which they were chosen.

How immense the difference between this and the mode I have seen practised in other countries, where, shuddering, I have beheld future despots in puny boys ! How ridiculous these their *Royal Highnesses* appear, who, though born to rule, are not, in real worth or abilities, deserving to be the lackeys of the least of those whom they treat with contempt ; and yet who swell, strut, stride, and contemplate themselves as creatures essentially different by nature, and of a superior rank in the scale of beings, though, in reality, their minds are of the lowest, the meanest class.

Happy the state whose prince is deeply impressed with a sense that the people are not his property, but he the property of the people ! Would men ever have been scourged by the iron whip of arbitrary power, had not their minds, from infancy, been poisoned with slavish principles ; had not the few wise been unable to actuate and inspire the crouching vassal swarm ? A prince, beloved by his people, will ever render a nation more happy than he whose only wish is to inspire fear.

The pleasure I received at Berlin was great indeed. When I went to court, the honest citizens crowded to see me : and when any one among them said "That is Trenck," the rest would cry—"Welcome once more to your country !"—while many would reach me their hands, with the tears standing in their eyes. Frequent were the scenes I experienced of this kind. No pardoned malefactor would have been thus received—Oh, no !—It was the sweet reward

of innocence : this reward was fully bestowed throughout the Prussian territories.

Oh world, ill judging world, deceived by show ! Dost thou not blindly follow the opinion of the prince, be he severe or indulgent, arbitrary or just ? The censure and the praise equally originate in common report. I am of this an exemplary proof. In Magdeburg I lay, chained to the wall, ten years, sighing in wretchedness, suffering every calamity of hunger, cold, nakedness and contempt. And wherefore ? Because the king, deceived by slanderers, pronounced me worthy of punishment. Because a wise king mistook me, and treated me with barbarity. Because a prudent king knew he had done wrong, yet would not have it so supposed. So was his heart turned to stone ; nay, opposed by manly fortitude, was enraged to cruelty. Most men were convinced I was an innocent sufferer, “ Yet did they all cry out the more, saying, let him be crucified !—And why ? What evil hath he done ? ” Frederic had pronounced the sentence. It was his will, and I must be deemed a malefactor. My very relations were ashamed to hear my name. My sister was barbarously treated because she compassionately assisted me in my misfortunes. No man durst openly avow himself my friend, durst own I merited compassion ; or, much less, that the infallible king had erred. I was the most despised forlorn man on earth ; and, when thus put on the rack, had I there expired, my epitaph would have been, “ Here lies the traitor Trenck.”

Frederic is dead, and the scene is changed : another monarch has ascended the throne, and the grub is changed to a beautiful butterfly ? The sun is risen, and the light shines upon my history and myself. The witnesses to all I have asserted are still living, loudly now proclaim the truth, and embrace me with heartfelt affection. The universal contempt of error, which I so long endured, is now changed to universal admiration and esteem !

The grandees of the earth, who, thirty years, or even as many months ago, Frederic being alive, would not have

deigned a look, or deemed me worthy of the smallest compassion, now condescendingly embrace me ! Frederic William has done me justice. Frederic *the Great* lies silent, unable to gainsay the sentence ! I am yet the same : great as is this change.

Does the worth of man depend upon his actions ? his reward or punishment upon his virtue ? In arbitrary states certainly not. They depend upon the breath of a king ! Frederic was the most penetrating prince of his age, but the most obstinate also ; the most unrelenting whenever he encountered opposition, or, by persisting in, could disguise error. A vice dreadful to those whom he selected as victims, that thus he sacrificed to the promoting of his arbitrary views !

Suspicion may render a monarch less liable to be deceived on certain occasions, but to how many slanders and falsehoods, is he exposed by this pernicious quality ! I had strength to support every thing Frederic had power to inflict : nay, after all my sufferings, have lived to see the end of my royal foe ; to whose overgrown armies and uncircumscribed will I had nothing but patience and fortitude to oppose. But, oh ! how many were there, like me groaning in dungeons, the victims of a fate so wretched, who now are no more ! or who now, if living, have not, like me, the means of publishing all the miseries they have endured ! How many perished, the sin-offerings of this obstinate self-will, whose orphan children now cry to God for vengeance ! How many of these orphans are obliged to utter their groans in secret ;—because their fathers have been cut off, they have no means of justification ! The dead, alas ! cannot plead. Trial began and ended with execution. The few words—*IT IS THE KING'S COMMAND*—were, indeed, words of horror to the poor condemned wretch denied to plead his innocence !—Yet, what is the *Ukase* (imperial order) in Russia ;—*Tel est notre bon plaisir* (Such is our good pleasure) in France ; or the *Allergnädigste Hof resolution* (The all-gracious sentence of the court), pronounced with

the sweet tone of a Vienna matron ? In what do these differ from the arbitrary ORDER of a military despot ?

Cursed effects of court parasites, who persuade the god of their idolatry he is infallible ; and infuse into his heart the false and destructive principle, that a king is superior to law ! that the country over which he reigns is his property ! and that the subject ought not to demand justice as a right, but crouch and receive it as a favour !

Every effort, every prayer of man, should be consecrated to man's general good ; for him to obtain freedom and universal justice ! Together would we cry with one voice ; and, if unable to shackle arbitrary power, still should we endeavour to show how dangerous it is !—how despicable ! The priests of liberty should offer up their thanks to the monarch who declares *the word of power* a nullity, and *the sentence* of justice omnipotent,—who condemns the acts of an Alexander, or a Charles XII.

Woe to the monarch possessed of the destructive spirit of contest ! Woe to the country whose Quixote-ruler is ever in search of giants ! Woe to the people whom his fury dooms to the sword, or who are made the sanguinary instruments of desolation, death, or slavery to other nations ! Woe, tenfold woe, to that prince who would be adored by the abject wretches he has fettered ! Woe to him who is quick to punish, and slow to reward, or only employs his power in the gratification of his favourites ! The thirst of dominion and the thirst of blood are ever associated ! What wonder that he who equally sports with the rights and the heads of men should be deaf to their groans ?

Instead of singing the acts of heroes in our songs, instead of raising them to the rank of heroes by our valour, we ought much rather to praise and protect the friends of peace.

Who can name the court in Europe where Louis, Peter, or Frederic, each and all *The Great*, have not been, and are not, imitated as models of perfection ? Lettres-de-cachet, the knout, and cabinet-orders, superseding all right, are become law ! Judges, who legally should decide

on our actions and our claims, are themselves but puppets : fearful of punishment, they are ever ready to inflict.

No reasoning, says the corporal to the poor grenadier, whom he canes !—No reasoning ! exclaims judges. The court has decided.—No reasoning, rash and pernicious Trenck, will the prudent reader echo. Throw thy pen in the fire, and expose not thyself to become the martyr of state inquisition.

Yes, kind counsellor, I will follow thy advice. Let others beware how they expose themselves to like dangers, or let their narratives lie buried, till they themselves, being entombed, are no longer exposed to suffer.

Unremarked, my thoughts escape my pen, and lead me astray from my subject, when the remembrance of the past swells my veins, when swifter circulates my blood, and the deep wounds of my heart again gash forth—wounds that never can be healed—never can be cicatrised.—Such passages repose and reason would erase : but, ah ! how may I repent having written the truth ? Neither have I time to re-copy what I write ; and thus my writings justly incur blame from rigid criticism, and even from my best friends, who would persuade me to greater caution and prudence.

My fate is, and must to the grave remain, critical and undecided. I have six and thirty years been in the service of Austria, unrewarded, and beholding the repeated and generous efforts I made effectually to serve that state unnoticed. The emperor Joseph supposes me old, that the fruit is wasted, and that the husk only remains. In this he is wrong. The oppression I have suffered is too great, even for an attempt at making me adequate satisfaction. It is also supposed I should not be satisfied with a little. This supposition is equally wrong. To continue him in oppression who has once been oppressed, and who possesses qualities that may make injustice manifest, is the policy of states. Neither do courtiers love the man, who, able to penetrate, may probably frustrate their insidious intents. How I have been treated by judges, referendaries, curators,

I have perhaps too repeatedly urged : yet surely this will be forgiven me ; though this is an additional reason why I never can obtain justice. My spirit has been too proud to implore, my nature too independent. My journey to Berlin has given the slanderer further opportunity of painting me as a suspicious character : I smile at the ineffectual attempt.

I appeared in the imperial uniform, and, by my conduct, belied such insinuations. To this purpose it was written to court, in November, when I went into Hungary, " The motions of Trenck ought to be observed in Hungary." Ye poor malicious blood-suckers of the virtuous ! ye shall not be able to hurt a hair of my head. Ye cannot injure the man who has sixty years lived in honour. Thus the elephant moves along, regardless of the shouting mob ! I will not, in my old age, bring upon myself the reproach of inconstancy, or desire of revenge. Nor Sultan, nor Great Mogul, shall allure me to slavery. I will betray no political secrets : I wish not to injure those by whom I have been injured.—Such acts will I never commit—Never—I never yet descended to the office of spy, nor will I die a rewarded villain.—Neither in Austria, nor Prussia, will I be made the instrument of a faction.

To your work, therefore, ye dealers in court enigmas, I here renounce your society ; here publicly renounce the dignities of courts or armies, determined to live a private man, thankful only to those who shall treat me with friendship, or endeavour to obtain for me some part of that right which so justly is my due. These shall not repent that Trenck is their debtor, for his heart is grateful.

Yes, I appeared in Berlin, among the upright and the just. Instead of being its supposed enemy, I was declared an honour to my country. I appeared in the imperial uniform, and fulfilled the duties of my station : and now must the Prussian Trenck return to Austria, there to perform a father's duty, having already done more for this country than could have been expected from an oppressed man.

Yet more of what happened in Berlin.

Some days after I had been presented to the king, and supped with the queen, I entreated a private audience ; and, on the 12th of February, received the following letter :

“ IN answer to your letter of the 9th of this month, which has been given me, I *gladly* inform you, that, if you will come to me to-morrow, at five o'clock in the afternoon, I shall have *the pleasure* to see and speak with you ; meantime I pray God to take you into his holy keeping.

FREDERIC WILLIAM.

Berlin, Feb. 12, 1787.

“ P. S. After signing the above, I find it more convenient to appoint to-morrow at nine in the morning, about which time you will come into the apartment named the Marmor Kammer (marble chamber).”

The anxiety with which I expected this wished-for interview may well be conceived. I found the Prussian Titus alone, and he continued in conversation with me more than an hour.

How condescending, how kind was the monarch ! How great !—How nobly did he console me for the past ! how entirely did his assurance of favour overpower my whole soul ! He had read the history of my life. When prince of Prussia, he had been an eye-witness, in Magdeburg, of my martyrdom, and my attempts to escape. Many circumstances he recollected himself : and he enquired of those who had been present, and who confirmed the truth of my narrative, and the severity of my calamities.—Long shall I remember these fortunate moments : yet these are fled. His majesty parted from me with tokens of confirmed esteem and condescension.—My eyes bade adieu, but my heart remained in the marble chamber, in company with a prince capable of sensations so dignified ; and my wishes for his welfare are eternal.

I have since travelled through the greater part of the Prussian states. Where is the country in which the people

are all satisfied? Many complained of oppressions, hard times, or industry unrewarded. My general answer was :

“ Friends, kneel with the rising sun, and thank the God of heaven that you are Prussians. I have seen and know much of this world, and I assure you, on my honour, you are among the happiest people in Europe. Causes of complaint every where exist ; but you have a king, neither obstinate, ambitious, covetous, nor cruel : his will is that his people should have cause of content, and, should he err by chance, his heart is not to blame if the subject suffers.”

To the truth of this I pledged my veracity ; I am well known not to be a flatterer ; I speak what I have seen ; I vent the thoughts of my heart ; I write from conviction, and not with the insidious hope of reward.

The eyes of all Europe are at present directed toward Berlin—eager to learn whether Frederic William will be able to sustain the vast and artificial fabric reared by his predecessor. I will systematise but little, I will state incontrovertible facts.

Prussia is neither wanting in able, active, nor learned men. The warmth of patriots glows in their veins. The soul of the great Frederic still inspires the machine, and there is little doubt but that its wheels will not be clogged by innovation. Should this plan be steadily pursued, there will be no confusion of tongues in the tower of Babel ; and those, who wish its destruction, will have great difficulties to surmount. Every thing remains with equal stability, as under the reign of Frederic ; and, should the thunder burst, the ready conductors will render the bolt ineffectual.

Hertzberg still labours in the cabinet, still thinks, writes, and acts as he has done for years. The king is desirous that justice shall be done his subjects, and will punish, perhaps with more severity, whenever he finds himself deceived, than from the goodness of his disposition might be supposed. The treasury is full, the army continues the same, and there is little reason to doubt but that industry, population, and wealth will increase.

Yet is it ardently to be desired that commerce might be promoted, by treaties with foreign nations; industry encouraged; monopolies totally abolished; the price of provisions reduced; manufactures less burthened by taxes; justice impartially administered; punishments rendered more mild; toleration made more universal; foreigners no longer kidnapped; promises held sacred, and free egress and regress given throughout the Prussian provinces. None but the vile and wicked would leave the kingdom; while the oppressed and best subjects of other states would fly their native country, certain of finding encouragement and security in Prussia.

The personal qualities of Frederic William merit to be described. He is tall and handsome, his mein is majestic, and his accomplishments of mind and body would procure him the love of men, were he not a king. He is affable without deceit, friendly and kind in conversation; and stately in all his demeanour. His step is firm, his voice sonorous, his tone commanding, his heart capable of the noblest sentiments, and so benevolent, that his greatest happiness is in the happiness of others. He is bountiful, but not profuse; he knows that, without economy, the Prussian power must sink. He is not tormented by the spirit of conquest; he wishes harm to no nation, yet will he not suffer other nations to make encroachments, nor will he be terrified by menaces. That he is a soldier and a general, his great instructor and predecessor has long since borne testimony. He is likewise convinced how necessary it is that the king of a military state should be the friend of military men.

The wise Frederic, when living, though himself learned, and a lover of the sciences, never encouraged them in his kingdom. Germany, under his reign, might have forgotten her language; he preferred the literature of France. Königsberg, once the seminary of the north, contains at present few professors or students; the former are fallen into disrepute, and are ill paid; the latter repair to Leipsic and

Gottingen. We have every reason to suppose the present monarch, though no studious man himself, will encourage the academies of the literati, that learned men in jurisprudence and the sciences may not be wanting ; which want is more to be apprehended, as the nobility must, without exception, serve in the army ; so that learning has but few adherents, and these are deprived of the means of improvement. The nation, which in this age is a nation of soldiers only, will find itself inferior to no competitors ; nor will Frederic William govern with an iron sceptre, or consign his people solely to the slaughter-house. He will not be the sultan of slaves. Superstition, stupidity, fear, and the whip, are the support of the despot : he is a monarch who, by teaching his subjects to love and revere him, will excite them to the performance of their duties. These duties are promoted by the promotion of knowledge ; consequently the Prussian academies will revive, suppressed as they have been by the military system of Frederic.

Frederic William is also too much the friend of men, to torture, or to suffer them to pine in prison. He will not use the whip to bend the Prussian back to slavery ! He likewise abhors the barbarity with which the soldiers are beaten : his officers will not be fettered hand and foot : slavish subordination will be banished, and the noble in heart will be the noble of the land. He who deceives such a prince deserves double punishment. May he, in his people, find perfect content ? May his people be ever worthy of such a prince ! Long may he reign, and may his ministers be ever enlightened and honourable men ! Such is my ardent prayer—Such too is the portrait of a monarch whom I have praised ; not because of his title or his power, but his worth ; and because it is his delight to make the good and virtuous happy.

He sent for me a second time, conversed much with me, and confirmed those ideas which my first interview had inspired ; and I am fully convinced I have not mistaken his character.

On the 11th of March I presented my son, at another private audience, whom I intended for the Prussian service. The king immediately bestowed a commission on him in the Posadowsky dragoons, at my especial request. The difficulty of obtaining such a commission, without having first served as an ensign, is well known; this was, therefore, a particular favour and honour, and my son has the more to expect, since his majesty has himself promised his promotion.

I saw him at the review at Velau, and his superior officers formed great expectations from his zeal. Thus I have done the duty of a father by my sons: time will discover whether he who is in the Austrian, or this in the Prussian service, will first obtain the rewards due to their father: and to the state that first does such an act of justice will I bequeath my third son. Should they both remain unnoticed, I will bestow him on the great Turk, rather than on European courts, whence equity to me and mine is banished. Luckily my children are no monarch's vassals; they were born in the free imperial city of Aix-la-Chapelle; therefore is their will unfettered, and they may, with honour, seek bread in any country.

To Austria I owe no thanks:—all that could be taken from me was taken. I was captain before I entered those territories, and after six and thirty years service I find myself in the rank of invalid major! Less I could not be.—My duty I more than fulfilled, and wept in chains and dungeons so many years, not from any fault of mine, but because I was plundered, sold, betrayed by Austrian residents, traitors to their embassy, and persecutors at Vienna. The proof of all I have asserted, and of how little I am indebted to this state, is most incontestible, since the history of my life is allowed, by the royal censor, to be publicly sold in Vienna. The same proof exists in Berlin, where my narrative is universally read, and my veracity established.

It is very remarkable that one only of the eight officers, as one of whom I served in the body guard, in the year

1745, though it is now two and forty years since, is dead. Lieutenant-colonel count Blumenthal lives in Berlin; Pannewitz is commander of the knights of Malta. Both gave me a polite and friendly reception. Both were acquainted with the circumstances and manner in which Jaschinsky deceived the king, to my ruin. Wagnitz is lieutenant-general in the service of Hesse-Cassel: he was my tent comrade, and was perfectly acquainted with all that happened. Kalkreuter and Grothusen live on their estates, and Jaschinsky himself is now alive in Königsberg, but known, despised, superannuated, and tortured by sickness and remorse. I have never visited him, nor can I suppose he wishes I should. He, instead of punishment, has forty years enjoyed a pension of a thousand rix-dollars; consequently has cost the state forty thousand rix-dollars. I have seen my lands confiscated, of the income of which I have been forty-two years deprived, and never yet received retribution.

Such is the way of the world! Frederic robbed the worthy citizen of his right, and with a part of it rewarded such a man as Jaschinsky.

Time must decide; the king is generous, and I have too much pride to become a beggar. The name of Trenck shall be in the history of the acts of Frederic. This, though I should not desire it, I could not prevent. A tyrant himself, he was the slave of his passions; and even when he supposed he might be deceived, did not think an inquiry into innocence worth the trouble. To be ashamed of doing right, because he has done wrong, or to persist in error, that fools, (for fools only can,) may think him infallible, is a dreadful principle in a ruler. While the obstinate Frederic lived, no man dared to pronounce my name: no man durst own himself my friend. He is dead; when I am so, no pillar of dishonour shall rise over my grave: my epitaph shall be, "Alas! that thou wert known too late."

Since I have been at Berlin, and was received there with

so many testimonies of friendship and favour, the newspapers of Germany have published various articles concerning me, perhaps with the best of wishes, intending to contribute to my honour or ease. They have, however, been sometimes misinformed. They have asserted a great pension has been settled on me in Berlin; but, on my honour, I affirm I never asked a pension. They have said my eldest daughter is appointed the governess of the young princess. This, perhaps, has been the joke of some witty correspondent; for my eldest daughter is but fifteen, and stands in need of a governess herself. Perhaps they may suppose me mean enough, from ostentation, to circulate falsehood: perhaps they suppose they do me service, or give me pleasure, by publishing as facts, honours or rewards for which I hope. It may be malice, and a desire to injure me; it may be the very reverse: in any case it is no pleasure to me, and may have ill effects. An honest man is never without enemies, who will labour to prevent any good that might happen to him, and who are terrified if they imagine he might become the favourite of a king.

I almost daily receive letters from all parts of Germany, from persons unknown to me, wherein the sensations of the feeling heart are evident. The history of my life has excited a general attention. Those reviewers who have been impartial have my thanks; those who suspect my veracity, or endeavour to decry my work, must be answered by an appeal to facts. That my history relates many improbable events, and rather resembles a romance than a work of biography, is not my fault: extraordinary accidents I have encountered, and extraordinary accidents I must relate. My purpose in writing was the publication of truths; nor shall I be accused, except by those who do not know, or who do not consider, this reason, and who are prejudiced against a man pleading his own cause. Were I to attempt to deceive the public, I were indeed unworthy. Among the number of these letters was one, which I received from the learned

Bahrdrf, professor at Halle, dated April 10, 1787*, wherein he says, "Receive, noble German, the ardent thanks of one, who, like you, has encountered difficulties,—yet far inferior to those you have encountered. You indeed, with gigantic strength, have met a host of foes, and nobly conquered. The pest of men attacked me also: I also was persecuted by priests. The ardour of my temper engaged me in many a rash enterprise; and I, too, have been devoured by a noble pride of heart. I was the enemy to hypocrisy, and disdained to be a parasite of princes. From town to town, from land to land, I was pursued by priestcraft and persecution; yet, in despite of adverse fate and poverty, I acquired fame. I fled for refuge and repose to the states of Frederic, but found them not. I have eight years laboured under affliction with unwearied perseverance, but have found no reward. By patient industry have I made myself what I am; by ministerial favour, never. Even in the states of Frederic the hatred of priests pursued me. Worn out and weak, lamenting my own destiny, the history of your life, worthy sir, fell into my hands, and poured balsam into my wounds. There, indeed, I saw sufferings unmeasurable; there, indeed, beheld fortitude most worthy admiration. The chagrin that preyed upon, the despair that rent my heart, fled. Compared to you, of what could I complain? Receive, noble German, my warmest thanks; while I live they shall flow. And should you find a fortunate moment, in the presence of your king, speak of me as one consigned to poverty,—as one whose talents are buried in oblivion. Say to him—'Mighty king! stretch forth thy hand, and dry up his tears.' I know the nobleness of your mind, and doubt not your good wishes."

To the professor's letter I returned the following answer:

"I was affected, sir, by your letter. I never yet was

* The letter of professor Bahrdrf and the baron's answer are both in verse, but are too barren of poetical merit or figure to please in poetical translation.

unmoved, when the pen was obedient to the dictates of the heart. I feel for your situation ; and if my example can teach wisdom even to the wise, I have, indeed, cause to triumph. This is the sweetest of rewards. At Berlin I have received much honour, but little more. The courtier fawns to obtain favour and gifts. He who seeks justice mistakes his road. Men are deaf to him who confides only in his right. What have I gained ? Shadow fame for myself, and the vapour of hope for my heirs !

“ Truth and Trenck, my good friend, flourish not in courts. You complain of priestcraft. He who attacks a nest of hornets must expect to be stung. He who would disturb their ambition and covetousness, he who speaks against the false opinions they scatter, considers not priests and their aim, which is to dazzle the stupid, and stupify the wise. A host of knaves in black, act to promote their earthly interests : and, strange to tell, the Quixote who shall dare molest them must also encounter the anger even of the rational !—Deprecate their wrath ! avoid their poisoned shafts, or they will infect thy peace, will blast thy budding honours. And wherefore should we incur this danger ? The world will ever be the same. To cure ignorance of error is impossible. Silence is often not only prudence, but wisdom. Let us then silently steal to our graves, and thus shall we escape the breath of envy. What is the puppet-shew of life ? He who should enjoy all even thought could grasp should yet have but little. Having acquired this knowledge, the passions of the soul are lulled to apathy. I behold error, and I laugh : do thou, my friend, laugh also. If that can comfort us, men will do our memory justice—when we are dead ! Fame plants her laurels over the grave, and there they flourish best.

BARON TRENCK.”

Schangulack, near Königsberg,
April 30th, 1787.

“ P. S. I have spoken, worthy professor, the feelings of my heart, in answer to your kind panegyric. You will but

do me justice when you believe I think and act as I write. With respect to my influence at court, it is just as insignificant at Berlin as at Vienna, or at Constantinople."

Among the various letters I have received, as it may answer a good purpose, I hope the reader will not think the insertion of the following improper. They may be read by some benevolent person, who may have power to speak in behalf of one who is evidently not only distressed, but a man of very considerable talents.

In a letter from an unknown correspondent, who desired me to speak for this person at Berlin, eight others were inclosed. They came from the above person in distress to this correspondent; and I was requested to let them appear in the Berlin Gazette. As these letters came from Silesia anonymously to hand, and as I found it could answer no good purpose, I did not publish them as required: but my correspondent cannot take it amiss that I should select three of them, and here present them to the world, as it can do his friend no injury, while they describe an unhappy victim of an extraordinary kind,—and may, perhaps, obtain him some redress or relief.

Should this hope be verified, I am personally acquainted with him who wishes to remain concealed, can send him aid, or introduce him to the knowledge of such as might wish to interfere in his behalf. Should they not, the reader will still find well-written and affecting letters—such as may inspire compassion. My own situation permits me not to plead for another; nor affords me the means of relieving the unfortunate. The following is the first of those I think proper to select.

LETTER I.

Neuland, Feb. 12, 1787.

" I THOUGHT I had so satisfactorily answered you by my last, that you would have left me in peaceful possession of my sorrows; but your numberless remarks, intreaties, and remonstrances, succeed each other with such rapidity, that,

though before inclined indolently to fly, I am again induced to renew the contest. Cowardice, I believe, you are convinced, is not native in my heart: and, should I now too easily yield, you might suppose that age, and the miseries I have suffered, had weakened my powers of mind as well as body; and that I ought to be classed among the unhappy multitudes whose sufferings have sunken them to despondency.

“ Baron Trenck, that man of many woes, once so despised, but who now is held in admiration where he before was so much the object of hatred; who now speaks loudly in his own defence there, where formerly the man who had but whispered his name would have lived suspected: Baron Trenck you propose as an example of salvation for me. You are wrong.—Have you made any rational comparison? Have you considered how dissimilar our past lives have been; how different, too, our present circumstances are?—Or, omitting these, have you considered to whom you would have me appeal?

“ In the year 1764, I became acquainted in Vienna with this sufferer of fortitude, this agreeable companion. We are taught that a manly and noble aspect bespeaks a correspondent mind: this I believe him to possess. But what expectations can I form from Baron Trenck?

“ I will, however, briefly answer the questions you have put; for prolix I must not be, otherwise I should write the history of my life. Baron Trenck was, as I am informed, a man born to inherit great estates; this, and the fire of his youth, fanned by flattering hopes from his famous, and then powerful kinsman, rendered him too haughty to his king; and this alone was the origin of all his future sufferings. I, on the contrary, though the son of a Silesian nobleman of property, did not inherit so much as the pay of a common soldier; the family having been robbed of their property by the hand of power, after being accused by malice and wickedness, under the mask of holy virtue. You know my father's fate, the esteem in which he was held by the

empress Theresa,—and that a pretended miracle was the occasion of his fall. Suddenly was he plunged from that height, to which industry, talents, and virtue, had raised him, to the very depth of poverty. At length, on the commencement of the seven-years' war, one of the king of Prussia's subjects represented him to the Austrian court as a dangerous correspondent of marshal Schwerin's. Then sixty years of age, my unfortunate father was seized at Jagerndorf, and imprisoned in the fortress of Gratz, in Styria. He had an allowance just sufficient to keep him alive in his dungeon; but for the space of seven years never beheld the sun rise or set. I was a boy when this happened: the certainty of his innocence, however, emboldened me to intercede in his behalf at the foot of the throne. I was not heard. I only received some pecuniary relief from the empress, with permission to shed my blood in her defence. In this situation we first became acquainted, first vowed eternal friendship; but from this was I soon snatched, not by my own, but my father's enemies. What the empress had bestowed, her ministers tore from me. I was seized at midnight, and, without examination, was brought, in company with two other officers, to the before-mentioned fortress of Gratz. Here did I remain immured, in the flower of youth, six dismal years. My true name was concealed, and another given me. I was treated like a malefactor, and kept under seven locks.

“Peace being restored, Trenck, I, and my father, were released; but the mode of our mutual release was very different. The first obtained his freedom at the intercession of Theresa: she too afforded him a future provision. We, on the contrary, according to the amnesty, stipulated in the treaty of peace, were led from our dungeons as state-prisoners, a public spectacle, without the least inquiry concerning the verity or falsehood of our supposed crimes. Extreme poverty, wretchedness, and misery, were our reward for the sufferings we had so unjustly endured.

“Not only was my health destroyed; but my jaw-bone

was lost, eaten away by the scurvy. I laid before Frederic *the Great* the proofs of the calamities I had undergone, and the dismal state to which I was reduced by his foe, and for his sake—intreated bread to preserve me and my father from starving ; but his ear was deaf to my prayer, his heart insensible to my sighs.

“ Providence, however, raised me up a saviour :—count Gellhorn was the benevolent man. After the taking of Breslaw, he had been also sent a state prisoner to Gratz.—During his imprisonment, he had heard the general report of my sufferings, and my innocence. No sooner did he learn I was released, than he generously became my benefactor, my supporter, my friend, and once more restored me to the converse of men, to which I had so long been dead.

“ I defer the continuation of my narrative to the next post. The remembrance of past woes inflicts present.

I am eternally.”

LETTER II.

Feb. 24, 1787.

Dear Friend,

“ AFTER an interval of silence, to calm my agitated heart, remembering my promise, I must continue my story.

“ My personal sufferings have not, certainly, as I think, been less than those of Trenck. His, however, I am acquainted with only from the inaccurate relations I have heard ; my own I have felt. How can I forget them ? A colonel in the Prussian service, whose name was Hallasch, was four years my companion ; he was insane, and believed himself the Christ that was to appear at the millenium : he persecuted me with his reveries, which I was obliged to listen to and approve, or suffer violence from one stronger than myself.

“ The society of men or books, every thing that could console or amuse, were forbidden me ; and I consider it as wonderful that I did not myself grow mad, in the company of this madman. Four hard winters did I exist without

feeling the feeble emanation of a winter's sun, much less the warmth of fire. The very madman felt more pity than my keeper, and lent me his cloak to cover my body, though the other inhumanly denied me a truss of straw, notwithstanding I had lost the use of my hands and feet. The place where we were was called a chamber; it rather resembled the temple of Cloacina. The noxious damps and vapours at length so poisoned my blood, that, together with ill treatment from an unskilful surgeon, who daily tortured me, during nine months, with insult, as a Prussian traitor and state criminal, I lost the greatest part of my jaw. We, too, were nightly disturbed by the calling of centinels, and were frequently terrified by the grating of locks and bolts, and the entrance of guards.

“ Schottendorf was our governor and tyrant,—a man who repaid the friendship he found in the mansion of my fathers with cruelty. He was ripe for the sickle, and Time cut him off.—Tormentini and Galer were his successors in office, but not in insolence and inhumanity: by them we were, indeed, carefully watched, but we also were treated with commiseration. We enjoyed air without a bribe, and the comfort of sweet water.—Their precautions warded off jail distempers likewise, and rendered imprisonment less wretched. Ever shall I hold their memory sacred. Yet, benevolent as they were, their goodness was even exceeded by that of Rottensteiner, the head jailor. Without education, without other principles than those an excellent understanding taught, he considered his unfortunate prisoners as his children; and, instead of enriching himself by plundering the poor and oppressed, he was himself their benefactor.—Of this I had continual experience, during two years after the release of Hallasch.—He deserved a better station; a station as noble as his own thoughts.

“ Here, my friends, I but cursorily describe misery, at which the monarch shall shudder, if the blood of a tyrant flows not in his veins. Theresa could not wish these things;

yet they were. But she was human, she was fallible, and not omniscient.

“ From the above narrative you will perceive how opposite the effects must be, which the histories of Baron Trenck and of myself must prove.

“ Baron Trenck left his dungeon, shielded from want and contempt ; the day of freedom was the day of triumph. I, on the contrary, was exposed to every possible calamity. The spirit of Trenck, bowed as it had been by affliction, again raised itself. I have watched and laboured many a succeeding night that I might neither beg nor perish the following day ; working for judges who neither knew law, nor had sufficient powers of mind to behold the native beauty of justice ; rectifying or settling accounts that, item after item, did but prove the lord they were intended for as an imbecile dupe.

“ Trenck remembers his calamities, but the remembrance is advantageous to himself and his family ; while, with me, the past did but increase, did but agonise the present, and the future. He was not, like me, obliged to crouch in presence of those vulgar, those mean, those incapable minds, that do but consider the bent back as the footstool of pride. Every man is too busy in the gratification of self to busy himself in behalf of others :—pity me, therefore ; but advise me not to hope assistance, by petitioning princes at second hand. I know your good wishes, and, for these, I have nothing to return but barren thanks.

I am, &c.”

LETTER III.

“ YES, I do not, cannot doubt your friendship, your zeal, to serve me ; but you have been often fortunate in the accomplishment of your hopes ;—I, never.

“ The prospect of gain makes the usurer adventurous ; but, by digging under the foundation, to conceal or to recover his treasure, he may chance to overthrow his house,

and bury himself under its ruins. The voice of suffering Virtue is, alas ! unable to be heard, amid the agitated waves of a court ! she utters a feeble cry, sinks, and is no more seen. I fear the persecution of the clergy—Monarchs themselves bow before their power !

“ Beside, is Trenck in that situation that justifies his interference in behalf of a stranger ? Certainly not. Oh, no !—We have been dreaming ; you to begin, and I to continue, a correspondence on such a subject. Were he, like you, my intimate, my old friend, perhaps his great experience of the world might lead him to imagine some mode of procuring a supply sufficient fully to satisfy my very few wants, for few indeed they are. Unless he ask it, conceal my name. His silence will evince his real incapability to do me service ; his good-will cannot be doubted.

“ Every caution is necessary ; for, were I driven from this poor refuge of wretchedness, I might fall into the power of one who may be a tyrant, who might again rob me of light and air, and, adding torture to calamity, branding me as a traitor, might delight to inflict pangs incessant, and render death tedious. Farewell !”

The reasons why I published the foregoing letters are already stated, and will, I make no doubt, appear satisfactory to the reader. Once more to affairs that more immediately concern myself.

The following I received from Poland, from a correspondent who is likewise to me unknown.

“ Sir, Reschow, in Gallicia. April 30, 1787.

“ EVERY feeling heart, every person who had the honour of being acquainted with you, during your abode in Austria, receives the purest satisfaction from the justice at present done you, and the high honours by which you are distinguished at the court of Berlin, and of which we are informed by the public papers. Yes, sir, it is a sweet subject of consolation for suffering humanity to behold that you now find favour and justice from a power where the most unbridled

barbarity formerly gave birth to the bitterest sufferings, and the most inconceivable cruelty.

“ Every compassionate person, in this our district of bears, has read, has wept over, those sufferings so truly depicted in the history of your life. Thrice have the pages been bedewed by my tears. My present hope is to see a continuation of your history written on the now benevolent banks of the Spree. Alas ! sure, like the first navigator of Horace, he must in oak and triple steel be armed who should not feel pity in behalf of an honest man, an enlightened author, a brave soldier, and a good citizen.

“ Let me intreat your acceptance of this testimony of the heart, from a man who, though unknown to you, is, with the most worthy and best informed men of Poland, your sincere admirer. It is a respectful tribute, paid to uncommon merit. I am, &c.*”

I have here published the foregoing letter, that I may have an opportunity of thanking the person who has paid me such high compliments, and who has concealed his name, that I might not have the difficulty of answering so flattering an epistle.

I feel the happiness of being held in estimation by the noble minded ; and if the princess Czatoryska can credit her correspondent, and my writings, she will read how great my present sensations of joy are at having the happiness to attain so invaluable an honour.

I might fill a volume with like letters, but they appertain to another collection.

I met, at Berlin, many old friends of both sexes : among others, an aged invalid came to see me who was at Glatz, in 1746, when I cut my way through the guard. He was one of the centinels before my door, and whom I had thrown down the stairs.

Another invalid, who had assisted me, when imprisoned

* This letter contains some verses, which are only repetitions of similar sentiments, or of facts in the Life. Some of them were addressed to the princess Czatoryska.

at Magdeburg, in ridding myself of my bags of sand, came also to visit me.

The hour of quitting Berlin, and continuing my journey into Prussia, towards Königsberg, my native country, approached. On the eve of my departure, I had once again the happiness of conversing, more than two hours, with her royal highness the princess Amelia, sister of Frederic the Great.* Possessed of native greatness of mind and deep penetration, she solely had the honour of gaining the entire confidence and friendship of Frederic. She, as far as she was able, protected me in my hour of extreme adversity; heaped benefits upon me; and, more than any other person in the world, contributed to gain my deliverance. Not as a foreign officer did she receive me, during my stay in Berlin, but as a friend, as an aged patriot; and laid her commands upon me to write immediately to my wife, and request that she would come to Berlin in the month of June, with her two eldest daughters. I received her promise, that the happiness of the latter should be her care; nay, that she would certainly remember my wife in her will.

At this moment, when about to depart, she affectionately asked me if I had money sufficient for the expenses of my journey: "Yes, madam," was my reply; "for myself, I want nothing, ask nothing; but may you remember my children!"

The sensibility, the deep feeling with which I pronounced these words, moved the princess; she showed me how perfectly she comprehended my meaning, took me by the hand, and said, "Return my friend, quickly; I shall be most happy to see you."

I hastily left the room; a kind of indecision came over me. I was inclined to remain some days longer at Berlin. Had I done so, my presence would most indubitably have been of great advantage to my children. Alas! ever under

* This princess is supposed to be the lady so often alluded to in the preceding part of the baron's Life.

the guidance of my evil genius, I began my journey. The clear prospect of futurity was instantly overclouded; the principal purpose for which I came to Berlin frustrated; for, five days after my departure, the princess Amelia died!

Is not this a new proof that my implacable destiny will never quit pursuing me, even to the grave? He who reads my history attentively will see that a thousand times have I beheld the shores of happiness, and that the very moment I imagined I was about to cast anchor in the haven of tranquillity, again has an unforeseen hurricane driven me into the very midst of the wild and angry ocean.—Yes, yes,—so it has been, so it shall be.

In vain would the benevolent friends of man offer petitions to heaven that my latter days might be spent in peace. Their prayers rise not; they reach not the seat of mercy! Never has heaven inspired the hearts of princes to act effectually in my favour. Even when my friends have seriously intended to assist me, or in their wills to bequeath me generous legacies, either they have been persuaded to the contrary by my enemies, or prevented by death from fulfilling their good intentions. Many facts of this kind might I cite, particularly some that have been occasioned by father confessors.

This last unfortunate accident befel me through my own fault; I ought better to have employed the favourable moment. The more critical it was, the more ardent should I have been not to have let it escape. But I imagined myself too certain. I was too timid, had too much sensibility, or rather, indeed, too much pride, to let interested views be seen at such a moment.

“Well, well—who can recall the past?—It is the will of Providence thus to restrict your happiness.”

Such are the apophthegms in which the credulous find consolation: for my own part, I am of the sect of the sceptics. I am convinced that, by ill-timed delicacy, I have neglected many opportunities of making my fortune.

If it be the will of heaven that I am not to enjoy happiness here on earth, but that my christian spirit must content itself with court compliments, reputation acquired, and the world's compassion, without expecting any thing from the magnanimity of the best of sovereigns, then will I live satisfied, in my confined circle, and comfort myself with the reflection that I have deserved better.

If wealth be necessary to happiness, so indeed must my happiness be small. It is now winter with me, and never more can it be spring. I will no more be the dupe of vague and silly hopes. Plans of aggrandisement I am too old to form; am too proud, too obstinate, and too headstrong for the precincts of a court.

Peace be to thy ashes, noble princess! Thy will was good, and be that sufficient. I shall not want materials to write a commentary on the history of Frederic, when, in company with thee, I shall wander on the banks of Styx:—there the events that have happened on this poor earth may be written, without scruple or danger: till when, it is most probable, I shall give repose to my pen, unless some extraordinary incidents should once more reanimate my self-love, and, by the publication of new truths, I should be induced to expose myself to new persecutions;—from which, however, may the good God preserve me! He can have no pleasure in seeing his creatures unhappy. He yet may inspire the hearts of kings, to think of what I have been deprived, and of what is my due.

So proceed we with our story.

On the 22d of March I departed from Berlin, and pursued my journey to Königsberg, but remained two days at the court of the Margrave of Brandenburg Schwedt, where I was received with kindness and esteem. The margrave had bestowed favours on me, during my imprisonment at Magdeburg.

I departed thence through Soldin to Schildsburg, there to visit my relation at Sidau, who had married the daughter of

my sister, which daughter my sister had by her first husband Waldow, of whom I have so often spoken in the preceding part of this volume. I found my kinsman a worthy and honourable man, and one who made the daughter of an unfortunate sister happy. I was received at his house with open arms, and for the first time during an interval of two and forty years beheld one of my own relations.

On my journey thither, I had the unexpected pleasure to meet with lieutenant-general Kowalsky. This good gentleman was a lieutenant in the garrison of Glatz, in the year 1746, and was an ocular witness when I leaped from the wall of the rampart. He had read my history, with some of the principal facts of which he was previously acquainted. Should any one therefore doubt concerning those incidents which I have related of my escape from Glatz, and which, because of the difficulties attending their execution, have been by some, incapable themselves of a like enterprise, supposed incredible, I may refer them to him, whose testimony cannot be suspected.

From Schildsberg I proceeded to Landsberg, on the Warta. Here I found my brother-in-law, colonel Pape, commander of the Cotz dragoons, and the second husband of my deceased sister : and here I passed a happy and joyous day. Every body congratulated me on my glorious return into my country, and offered up their ardent prayers for my future felicity.

I found relations in almost every garrison, and was almost every where detained. Never did man receive more honourable marks of esteem throughout a kingdom. The general knowledge of my unmerited calamities procured me this sweet consolation ; and I were insensible indeed, and ungrateful, did my heart remain unmoved on occasions like these.

Yes, this is my delectable reward ;—a reward not conferred by princes ; a reward to which virtue only can aspire ; and which has been bestowed upon me with profusion ;—a reward which the hatred of the puissant Frederic could re-

tard, but could not prevent : Nature had given me too robust a body :—a reward so great, so delightful, so dear to remembrance, that, when put as a counterpoise to the afflictions I have suffered for the space of two and forty years, I hold it more than equivalent, and I feel it overbalances them all ! My heart glories in its past groans, all my wounds are healed, and, though the scars remain, they remain but the honourable proofs of victory.

Raised by misfortune, I live my country's monument, where many instructive, many exemplary lessons may be read. Remember me, O my friends, in the hour of sorrow ; relate my story to your children ; publish aloud that my bones have deserved to be laid in the sepulchre of my forefathers ; and though I am not permitted to rest my white locks on the pillow of repose in my own country ; though it be my destiny to die in the land to which envy, imposture, imbecility, and a thirst of ill-gotten gain have banished me ; still let my memory live among you ; still let me hope my name shall be held in veneration ! To you I leave my children ! in them may you behold their father's probity revive ; them may you distinguish from the children of those who have suffered nothing for, lost nothing in, their country.

In Austria I never can expect a like reception ; I am there mistaken, and I feel little inclination to labour at removing mistakes so rooted. Yet even there, as in Prussia, am I by the general voice approved. Yes, I am admired, but not known ; pitied, but not supported ; honoured, but not rewarded. The powerful are wilfully blind. Yet blind may they remain ; I will not grieve. " Who," saith Gellert, " is the great man by whom thou art honoured ? Say, doth he truly know to estimate merit ? Imagine him deprived of titles, his riches lost, his badges of honour gone, and perhaps thou wouldest then contemn his applause ; for thou wouldest despise his person."

When at Berlin, I discovered an error I had committed in the first part of my Life. At the time I wrote, having been wrong informed, I believed that the post-master-

general of Berlin, M. Derschau, was my mother's brother, and the same person who, in 1742, was first grand counsellor at Glogau, and afterward president in East Friesland. I was deceived: the Derschau, who is my mother's brother, is still living, and president at Aurich in East Friesland.—The post-master was the son of the old Derschau, who died a general, and who was only distantly related to my mother. Neither is the younger Derschau, who is the colonel of a regiment at Burg, the brother of my mother, but only her first-cousin: one of their sisters married lieutenant-colonel Ostau, whose son, the president Ostau, now lives on his own estate, at Lablack in Prussia.

I mention this at present for the information of a person who, because I had committed this trifling error, which was caused by my having been absent from my country above five and forty years, thence took occasion to persuade the world my history was all false: having corrected the mistake, I may add, I do not suppose any Derschau has reason to be ashamed of being allied to the family of Trenck, which, for three hundred years past, has intermarried with the most ancient families in Prussia, and which, in the history of the country, has given incontestible proofs of real nobility of heart.

I was likewise deceived in having suspected a lieutenant, whose name is Mollinie, in the narrative I gave of my flight from Glatz, of having acted as a spy upon me at Braunau, and of having sent information to general Fouquet. I am sorry. This honest man is still alive, a captain in Brandenburg. He was affected at my suspicion, fully justified himself, and here I publicly apologize. He then was, and again is become my friend. The person who really gave information to general Fouquet was captain Nimschofsky, my own cousin, who came to visit me at Braunau, and under the mask of friendship concealed the traitor.

I have also received a singular letter from one lieutenant Brodowsky. This extraordinary gentleman is offended at finding his mother's name in my narrative, and demands I

should retract my words. Alas! how can I retract the truth; and truth too which cannot be offensive to any person? Menaces never yet could induce me to commit such an action.

My readers certainly will allow the virtue of madam Brodowsky, at Elbing, is not impeached. Although I have said I had the fortune to be beloved by her, I have no where intimated that I asked, or that she granted, improper favours.

Certainly I had no intention to injure my preceptor Brodowsky, who had lived in my father's house, and who afterward journeyed to my mother, purposely to procure me speedy succour. I never meant to injure his honour living, nor his memory dead.

The parents having been my friends, I certainly wish I could oblige the son; but I never can write that facts, inserted in the history of my life, which have happened to myself, are false or imaginary. A man of understanding will not be angry should another say to him, "Your mother once loved me." M. Brodowsky, the father, never was jealous; and it is strange indeed that his son should be. I here declare that, with respect to myself, madam Brodowsky was certainly chaste; but I also here declare, I have a right to assume some merit to myself. This I think a sufficient answer to the letter of the lieutenant.

By the express desire of a person of distinction, I shall insert an incident in this place, which I omitted in a former part of this volume, lest I should have fatigued my readers by a too circumstantial recital of my various attempts to escape from prison. This honourable person was himself an eye-witness of this incident I am about to relate at Magdeburg, and reminded me of the affair. It was my last attempt but one at flight. The circumstances were these:

As I found myself unable to get rid of more sand, after having once again cut through the planking and mined the foundation, I made a hole toward the fosse, or ditch, in which three centinels were stationed. This I executed one

stormy night, it being easy, from the lightness of the sand, to perform the work in two hours.

No sooner had I broken through, than I silently drew back the sand within the hole, and threw one of my slippers beside the palisadoes, that it might be supposed I had lost it when climbing over them. These palisadoes, twelve feet in height, were situated in the front of the principal fosse, and my centinels stood within. There was no centry-box at the place where I had broken through.

This done, I returned into my prison, made another hole under the planking, where I could hide myself, and stopped up the passage behind me, so that it was not probable I could be seen or found.

When day-light came the centinel saw the hole, and gave the alarm : the officer ran terrified, the slipper was found, and it was concluded that Trenck had fortunately escaped over the palisadoes, and was no longer in prison.

Immediately the sub-governor came from Magdeburg, the alarm guns were fired, the horse scoured the country, and the fortification and the subterranean passages were all visited : no tidings came ; no discovery was made ; and the conclusion was, I had certainly escaped. That I should fly without the knowledge of the centinels was deemed impossible ; the officer and all the guard were put under arrest, and every body was struck dumb with surprise.

I, in the mean time, sat quiet in my hole, where I heard their searches and suppositions that I certainly was gone. My heart bounded with joy, and I held escape to be indubitable. They most undoubtedly would not have placed centinels over the prison the following night, and I then really should have left my place of concealment, and most probably have safely arrived in Saxony. My cruel destiny, however, robbed me of all hope, at the very moment when I supposed the greatest of my difficulties conquered.

Every thing seemed to happen as I could wish. The whole garrison came and visited the casemates, and all stood

astonished at the miracle they beheld. In this state things remained till four o'clock in the afternoon. At length an ensign of the militia came, a boy of about fifteen or sixteen years of age, a very chicken in appearance, but who had more wit than any or all of them. He approached the hole, examined the aperture next the fosse, thought it appeared very small, endeavoured to enter it himself, found he could not, therefore concluded it was impossible a man of my size could have passed through, and accordingly called for a light.

This was an accident I had not foreseen. Half stifled in my hole, I had opened the canal under the planking. No sooner had the youth procured a light, than he perceived my white shirt, examined nearer, felt about, and laid hold of me by the arm.

The fox was caught, and the laugh was universal. My chagrin and confusion may easily be imagined. They all came round me, paid me their compliments, and finding nothing better was to be done, I laughed in company with them,—and thus laughing, was led back, with an aching, a distracted heart, to be sorrowfully enchained in my dungeon.

The contrivance was highly applauded by all those who wished I might effect my escape; among whom was the honourable person who desired I would here insert this anecdote.

I continued my journey, and arrived on the 4th of April at Königsberg, where my brother impatiently expected my arrival. We embraced as brothers must, after an absence of two and forty years. Of all my brothers and sisters I had left in this city, he only remained. He lived a retired and peaceable life on his own estates, fulfilling all the duties of a man. He had no children living. I continued a fortnight in company with him and his worthy wife at Königsberg, with infinite satisfaction of heart, and afterward went with him to his country seat, where I stayed six weeks.

Happy days! Numbered amongst the most happy of my life! In the midst of relations, nephews, nephews's children,

cousins, and kinsmen of all degrees, who came to compliment me on my return to revisit the place of my nativity, I imagined myself the father of the family: I enjoyed that happiness which a sire enjoys, whose name is one of the most respectable of the land, and who is related, by ties of blood, to most of the neighbouring families. Man, at a certain time of life, is no where so happy as at home, especially if, like me, he has wandered into foreign lands, seen their manners and customs, and been received by their inhabitants with cordiality and friendship.

Here, for the first time, I learnt what had happened to my relations, during my absence. The wrath of the great Frederic extended itself to all my family. My second brother was an ensign in the regiment of cuirassiers at Kiow, in the year 1746, when I first incurred disgrace from the king. Six years he served; fought at three battles; but because his name was Trenck never was promoted. Weary of expectation, he at length quitted the army, married and lived on his estate at Meicken, where he died, about three years ago, and left two sons, who are an honour to the family of the Trencks.

Common fame spoke him a person capable of rendering the state essential service, as a military man, for the soldier's profession was his choice: but he was my brother, and the king would never suffer his name to be mentioned.

My youngest brother applied himself to the sciences; it was supposed that he should receive some civil employment, as an intelligent and well-informed man: but the king answered in the margin of the petition—

“No Trenck is good for any thing.”

Thus has all my family suffered, because of my unjust condemnation. My last-mentioned brother chose the life of a private man, and lived at his ease, in estimation and independence, among the first people of the kingdom.

The hatred of the monarch extended itself to my sister, who had married the son of general Waldow, and lived in widowhood from the year 1749, to her second marriage.

The misfortunes of this excellent woman, in consequence of the treachery of Weingarten, and the aid she sent to me in my prison at Magdeburg, I have before related. She was possessed of the fine estate of Hammer, near Landsberg on the Warta. The Russian army changed the whole face of the country, and laid it desert. She fled, with what effects she could collect, to Custrin, where every thing likewise was burnt and destroyed during the siege. The Prussian army itself demolished the fine forests.

After the war, the king assisted all the ruined families of Brandenburg ;—she alone obtained nothing, because she was my sister. She petitioned the king, who replied, She must seek for redress from her dear brother.

She died in the flower of her age, a short time after she had married her second husband, the present colonel Pape : her son also died last year. He was captain in the regiment of the Gotz dragoons.

Thus were all my brothers and sisters punished because they were mine. Who is he that shall afford retribution for so many tragical events ? Could it ever be believed that the great Frederic, like the great Zabaoth, would revenge himself on the children and the children's children ? Was it not sufficient that he should wreak his wrath on my head alone ? Why has the name of Trenck been hateful to him, to the very hour of his death ? This must ever remain an incomprehensible enigma.

I never would basely kiss the foot that spurned me. When innocent, I sought to avoid being spurned, and know myself guilty of no other crime.

One Derschau, captain of horse, and uterine brother of my mother, secretly addressed himself to the king, in 1753, alleged he was my nearest relation, and feudal heir, and petitioned that he would bestow on him my confiscated estate of great Scharlack.

The king demanded that the necessary proofs should be sent from the chamber at Königsberg. He was informed that I had two brothers living, that Great Scharlack was an

ancient family inheritance, and that it appertained to my brothers, and not to Derschau.

My brothers then announced themselves as the immediate successors to this fief; and the king bestowed on them the estate of Great Scharlack, conformable to the feudal laws. That it might be properly divided, it was put up to auction, and bought by the youngest of my brothers, who paid the surplus to the other and my sister. He likewise paid debts, charged upon it according to the express orders of the court. The persons who called themselves my creditors were impostors, for I had no creditors; I was but nineteen when my estates were confiscated, consequently was not of age. By what right, therefore, could such debts be demanded or paid? Let them explain this who can. Any man might say whatever he pleased, for I was not present to contradict.

The same thing happened when an account was given into the Fiscus of the guardianship, although I acknowledge my guardians were men of probity. One of them, however, was eight years in possession, and when he gave it up to my brothers he did not account with them for a single shilling.

At present, therefore, the affair stands thus: Frederic William has taken off the sentence of confiscation, and ordered me to be put in possession of my estates, by a gracious rescript: empowered by this I come and demand restitution: my brother answers, "I have bought and paid for the estate, I am the legal possessor, have improved it so much, that Great Scharlack at present is worth three or four times the sum it was at the time of confiscation. Let the Fiscus pay me its actual value, and then let them bestow it on whom they please. If the reigning king gives what his predecessor sold to me, I ought not thereby to be a loser."

This is a problem which the people of Berlin must resolve. My brother has no children, and without going to law will bequeath Great Scharlack to mine when he shall happen to die. If he is forced in effect to restore it, without being reimbursed, the king instead of granting a favour, has not

done justice. I do not request any restitution like this, since such restitution would be made without asking it as a favour of the king. If his majesty takes off the confiscation because he is convinced it was originally violent and unjust, then have I a right to demand the rents of two and forty years. This I am to require from the Fiscus, not from my brother.

And should the Fiscus only restore me the price for which it then sold, it would commit a manifest injustice, since all estates in the province of Prussia have, since the year 1746, tripled and quadrupled their value.

If the estate descends only to my children after my death, I receive neither right nor favour; for in this case I obtain nothing for myself, I shall remain deprived of the rents, which, as the estate is at present farmed by my brother, amount to four thousand rix-dollars per annum. This estate cannot be taken from him legally, since he enjoys it by right of purchase. It will not be the king who, when I am dead, will bestow it upon my children, but my brother, who will bequeath it them by will.

Such is the present state of the business. How the benevolent monarch shall think proper to decide, will be seen hereafter. I have demanded of the Fiscus that it shall make a fair valuation of Great Scharlack, reimburse my brother, and restore it to me. My brother has other estates. These he will dispose of by testament, according to his good pleasure.

Be these things as they may, the purpose of my journey is accomplished. My brother is my friend, and the father of my children. My son is in his majesty's service; and my honour is justified in my own country. In Prussia, at least, I am victorious over fate.

Reader, if thou hast noble thoughts, rejoice with me, and from my history learn that evil itself may convert to good. In the nineteenth year of my age I lost my fortune, my liberty, my all, honour and fortitude excepted; and these it was not in the power of the despot to take. Two

and forty years have I lived deprived of my property, two and forty years endured poverty, and even excessive indigence, with the exception of some few intervals, without ever being guilty of meanness; and in the moment of good fortune I have been liberal even to prodigality. I often have been deceived, but never was a deceiver. Those who plundered me blush at my name. I walk proudly even in the presence of kings. I write truths without disguise, and my writings find toleration and privilege. I was despised, condemned, and rejected, yet obtained, even in the dungeon's depth, than which no man could descend lower, the general esteem and approbation of the worthy.

Thou, great God, hast preserved me amidst my trouble. The purest gratitude penetrates my heart. Oh, that it might please thee never to let mortal endure what I have endured; or, if so it cannot be, that thou wouldst grant him equal strength to wrestle with woe! Oh that thou wouldst shield man from arbitrary power, and banish despotism from the earth! Dishonour cast headlong down, and exterminate the enemy of man; and let all prevaricating judges be like mine, reduced to cleanse the streets of filth. Suffer not the hypocritical knave to injure and insult the virtuous. May this tragical narration be a lesson to the afflicted, afford hope to the despairing, fortitude to the wavering, and shake and humanise the hearts of kings!

Joyfully do I journey to the shores of death. My duty is fulfilled, my end attained, tranquillity deserved. My conscience is void of reproach, posterity shall bless my memory, and only the unfeeling, the wicked, the confessors of princes, and the pious impostor, shall vent their rage against my writings. My few remaining hours of life shall still be dedicated to the love of men. For my own part, my wants are few. My mind is desirous of repose; and, should this be denied me, still will I not murmur. I now wish to steal gently, though not wholly unknown, toward that last asylum, whither if I had gone in my youth, it must have been with colours flying. Grant, Almighty God, that the prayer

I this day make may be heard, and that such may be the conclusion of my eventful life !

THE succeeding pages of the Baron's Life contain little more respecting himself than a narrative of his endeavours to recover his lost estates, of little interest to an English reader ; he has however added the Life of his cousin Baron Francis Trenck, of which the following is an extract.

FRANCIS BARON TRENCK was born in 1714, in Calabria, a province of Sicily. War breaking out in 1736, between the Russians and Turks, he, with the permission of the court of Vienna, raised a squadron of hussars, and went with it into the Russian service, contrary to the will of his father. In this war he distinguished himself highly, and acquired the protection of field-marshal Munich. He was so successful, and so daring, as a partisan leader against the Tartars, that he became very famous in the army, and at the end of the campaign was appointed major.

It happened, on the same occasion, that flying parties of the Turks approached the front of his regiment, when on march, and Trenck seeing a favourable moment for attacking them, went to colonel Rumin, desiring that the regiment might be led to the charge, and that they might profit by so fair an opportunity. The timid colonel answered, " I have no such orders." Trenck then demanded permission to charge the Turks only with his own squadron ; but this was refused.—He immediately became furious, for he had never been acquainted with contradiction or subordination, and cried aloud to the soldiers—" If there be one brave man among you, let him follow me."—About two hundred immediately stepped from the ranks ; he put himself at their head, routed the enemy, made a horrible carnage, and returned intoxicated with joy, accompanied by prisoners, and loaded with dis severed heads.

Once more arrived in presence of the regiment, he attacked the colonel, treated him like the rankest coward,

called him opprobrious names, and beat him, without the other daring to make the least resistance.

The adventure, however, became known ; Trenck was arrested, and ordered to be tried.

His judges condemned him to be shot—and the day was appointed—but the evening before execution field-marshal Munich passed, either by chance or design, near the tent in which he was confined.—Trenck saw him, came forward, and said,—“ Certainly your excellency will not suffer a foreign cavalier to die an ignominious death, because he has chastised a cowardly Russian ! If I must die, at least give me permission to saddle my horse, and, with my sabre in my hand, let me fall surrounded by the enemy.”

The Tartars happened to be at this time harassing the advanced posts ; the field-marshal shrugged his shoulders, and was silent.—Trenck, still not discouraged, added—“ I will undertake to bring your excellency three heads, or lose my own. Will you, if I do, be pleased to grant me my pardon ?”—The field-marshal replied,—“ Yes.” The horse of Trenck was immediately brought ; he galloped to the enemy, and returned singly with four heads knotted to his horse’s mane, himself only slightly wounded in the shoulder.

Munich embraced him ; and immediately appointed him to be a major in another regiment

Various, and almost incredible, were his feats ;—among others, a Tartar ran him through the belly with his lance : Trenck grasped the projecting end with his hands, exerted his prodigious strength, broke the lance, set spurs to his horse, and happily escaped. Of this wound, dreadful as it was, he was soon cured.

Toward the conclusion of the war he had a new misfortune ; his regiment was on the march, and incommoded on all sides by the enemy : he entreated his colonel to grant him permission to attack them. The colonel was once more a Russian, and he was refused. Trenck gave him a blow, and called aloud to the soldiers to follow him.

They, however, being Russians, remained motionless—and he was put under arrest.

The court-martial sentenced him to death—and all hope of reprieve seemed over. The general would willingly have granted his pardon; but, as he himself was a foreigner, he was fearful of offending the Russians by such partiality, they having begun to murmur.

The day of execution came, and he was led to the place of death.—Munich, however, so contrived it, that field-marshal Lowenthal should pass by at this moment, in company with his lady. Trenck profited by this opportunity, spoke boldly, and prevailed. A reprieve was requested, and the sentence was changed into banishment and labour in Siberia.

Trenck protested against this sentence. The field-marshal wrote to Petersburg, and an order came that he should be broken, and conducted out of the Russian territories. This order was accordingly executed, and he returned into Hungary to his father.

Warlike inclinations would not permit him to remain idle.—Having no opportunity to indulge these, because of the general peace, he conceived the project of extirpating the Slavonian banditti.

Before I proceed, it will be proper to describe this race of men, whom no person before him had dared to attack, although they laid the whole country under contribution, and exercised the utmost cruelties.

The title of their chiefs was Harum-Bashaw; and they were elected from among the strongest, the most intelligent, and the boldest men of the nation. So severe were their laws, that the smallest fault was punished by strangling the culprit.

If any one of their comrades had been betrayed, there is no example that they ever so much as spared the infant, even in its mother's womb.

Their vengeance was unlimited; and if by chance the

whole band were defeated with slaughter in such kind of attempts, the new Harum-Bashaw of their successors was bound to carry fire and sword to the place where his predecessor had fallen.

In effect, they were true partisans; maintained spies in Turkey, and occasionally fell upon the Turkish banditti, taking from them their booty, and plundering and assassinating the caravans of merchants.—Therefore they spread universal terror throughout the country: no one durst expose himself to their enmity; and all the landholders paid them a small contribution, that they might protect them from the incursions of the Turkish banditti. Such landholders as were their tributaries lived with their vassals tranquil and in full security: for it was a law among the Slavonian banditti never to forfeit their word.

Each Harum-Bashaw had a stipulated number of men; and when any one of them died, all the youths, most adroit and renowned for their feats, became candidates for the vacant place; because that these banditti lived in abundance, and were not obliged to work.

They freely traversed all the country armed, and are well known by their large rings and buttons of silver. When government thought proper to pursue and attack them, and they were obliged to encounter the regulars, they generally had the advantage, and could take shelter, when attacked, in their vast forests, with the paths and thickets of which they were well acquainted. At such times they became a great nuisance to the neighbouring hamlets, which they pillaged at pleasure.

Trenck, therefore, began his military exploits anew against this singular race of men. To execute this enterprise, he employed his own vassals and pandours. He was afterward assisted by a detachment of regulars, having promised the court of Vienna that he would totally destroy these banditti. The bloody contest now commenced—men were racked and impaled; and it may perhaps be safely

affirmed, that more activity, precaution, and courage were necessary to insure success in such a kind of war than to lead a great army to the field of battle.

Trenck seemed born for this murderous trade. Day and night on the watch, he chased them like wild beasts, by tracing their footsteps; killing one, then another, and without distinction treating them with the utmost barbarity. Father and son alike must bleed; nor was he himself a moment certain he should not fall into their hands, or be betrayed by his own soldiers. Two incidents, which I shall here relate, will sufficiently paint the character of this unaccountable man.—He had impaled alive the father of a Harum-Bashaw. One evening he was going on patrol, along the banks of a brook which separated two provinces. On the opposite shore was the son of this impaled father, with his Croats.—It was moon-light, and the latter called aloud—

“I hear thy voice, Trenck!—Thou hast impaled my father!—Thou persecutest us like a rascal, with craft and cruelty. If thou hast a heart in thy body come hither over the bridge—I will send away my followers; leave thy fire arms, come only with thy sabre, and we will then see who shall remain the victor.”

The agreement was made—and the Harum-Bashaw sent away his Croats, and laid down his musket. Trenck passed the wooden bridge, both drew their sabres; but Trenck treacherously killed his adversary with a pistol that he had concealed, after which he severed his head from his body, took it with him, and stuck it upon a pole.

The reader will determine concerning the heroism of this action toward a thief, who, although a thief, behaved so nobly.

Be this as it may, he continued to ensnare them by every kind of artifice, and to pursue them with unrelenting vengeance. Thus he became the terror and the scourge of that pernicious race.

One day, when he was hunting, he heard music in a lone house, which belonged to one of his vassals. He was

thirsty, entered, and found the guests seated at a table. He sat himself down, and ate with them, not knowing that this very house was a place of rendezvous for the banditti.

As he was seated opposite the door, at a long narrow table, he saw two Harum-Bashaws, armed and of a gigantic stature, enter. His musket stood in a corner; he was struck with terror; but one of the banditti addressed him thus: "Neither thee, nor thy vassals, Trenck, have we ever injured,—yet dost thou pursue us with unexampled cruelty. We think more nobly. Eat thy fill; we could nail thee to the wall; but fear nothing. When thou hast satisfied thy hunger, we will then, sabre in hand, see who has most justice on his side, and whether thou art as courageous and as invincible as men speak thee."

Hereupon they sat themselves down opposite the table, and began to eat and drink and make merry. The situation of Trenck could not be very pleasant. He recollected, that beside these two 'giants, there might be more of their companions without, ready to fall upon him; he therefore privately drew his pistols from his pocket, held them under the table while he cocked them, presented each hand to the body of a Harum-Bashaw, fired them both at the same instant, overset the table on the other guests, and safely escaped from the house. As he went he had time enough to seize on one of their muskets, which was standing at the door. One of the Croats was left weltering in his blood: the other disengaged himself from the table, and ran like a man frantic after Trenck, who suffered him to approach, killed him with his own gun, struck off his head, and brought it home in triumph.

By this action the banditti were deprived of their two most valorous chiefs, and likewise of their courage,—so that, cut off on every side, numbers of them took refuge in the Turkish states.

War broke out at this time, in the year 1740, when all the Hungarians took up arms in defence of their lovely and beloved queen. Trenck wrote to Vienna, offered to raise a

free corps of pandours, and requested a general amnesty for all the banditti who should join his troops. His request was granted, he published his amnesty, and began to raise recruits; few, however, of the banditti came to join his colours; he therefore enrolled his own vassals, formed a corps of about five hundred men, went in search of the robbers, drove them into a strait between the Save and Sarsawa, where they at length capitulated, and about three hundred of them enrolled themselves with his pandours.

Most of these men were six feet in height, upright, determined, and experienced soldiers, that could swim, and were accustomed to run, like roe-bucks, for miles through their forests. These were necessary requisites before they could be admitted among the banditti.

It is not to be wondered at that an able leader of men like these found nothing impossible, or that he should perform, brave and daring as he was, even to rashness, feats that almost appear miraculous.

While he was exercising his regiment, a company fired upon Trenck with ball, and killed his horse under him, and his servant that stood by his side. He ran, furious, to the company, counted one, two, three, and beheaded the fourth. He was continuing this, when an Harum-Bashaw left the ranks, drew his sabre, and called aloud,—“It was I who fired upon thee,—defend thyself.” The soldiers stood motionless spectators. Trenck attacked him, and had the good fortune to hew him down.

He was then proceeding to continue the execution of the fourth man, but the whole regiment presented their arms. The revolt became general, and Trenck, still holding his drawn sabre, ran like a lion amidst them, hacking about him on all sides. The excess of his rage was terrific: the soldiers all called hold, each fell on his knees, and promised obedience. After this, he cordially embraced some of them, remonstrated and harangued to them in language suitable to their character, and, from that time, they became invincible soldiers, whenever they were headed by himself.

It may well be asked, whether a man, who in like peril is capable of acting with like intrepidity, ought to be judged by common rules. Trenck, however, was condemned by the decision of some pacific court-martial judges, who had grown old in a soldier's uniform, without ever having stained it with their own blood. Let the situation of Trenck be considered: be it remembered that he was the chief of a band of robbers, accustomed to rapine, and who supposed they were authorised to take whatever they pleased in an enemy's country! a banditti that had so often defied the gallows, that had never known military subordination. Let such men be suddenly led to the field, and opposed to regular troops. That they are never acted upon by a principle of honour is evident; their leader, therefore, is obliged to excite their avidity by the hope of plunder, thus to engage them in action; for if they perceive no personal advantage, the command of the chief, or the interest of the sovereign, are wholly insufficient to make them act.

As he was himself never absent at the time of action, he soon became acquainted with the character of those whom he called old women, and sent them from his regiment, without any other process than his own command, when he learned that any one among them had hidden himself in a ditch, or had not run to the assault at the head of his pandours. The number of officers so discharged increased, they all repaired to Vienna, vented their complaints, and were heard.

Envious of his good fortune, the enemies of Trenck were on the watch. His own avarice prevented him from making any division of his rich booty with those gentlemen who constituted the military courts; thus neglecting what was customary at Vienna: and in this originated the prosecution to which he fell a victim.

But the important services he rendered the army during the Bavarian war are well known in the history of Maria Theresa, though his actions have ever been represented with a face the least favourable. The good he has done has been

purposely passed over in silence, because he died under misfortunes, and did not leave his historian a legacy.

He was informed by a spy, that, either at Deckendorf or Filtzhofen, I do not exactly remember which, there was a barrel, containing twenty thousand florins, concealed at the house of an apothecary. Impelled by the desire of booty, Trenck hastened to the place indicated, with a candle in his hand, searching every where, and, in his hurry, dropt a spark into a quantity of gun-powder which happened to be there, by the explosion of which he was dashed against the ground, and dreadfully scorched. They carried him off; but the scars, and the gun-powder with which his skin was blackened, in consequence of this accident, rendered his countenance remarkably terrific.

The present field-marshal Laudohn was at that time a lieutenant in his regiment, and happened to be at the door when his colonel was burnt. Scarcely was Trenck cured, before his spies informed him that Laudohn had plenty of money, and that he and his friends lived merrily. Immediately he suspected that Laudohn had indubitably found the barrel of florins, and from that moment he persecuted this worthy man, by all imaginable arts. Wherever there was danger he sent him, at the head of some thirty men, against three hundred, hoping to have him cut off, and to make himself his heir.

This was so often repeated, that Laudohn began to be weary, quitted the corps, and retreated to Vienna, where, joining the crowd of the accusers and enemies of Trenck, he became instrumental in his destruction. Yet is it certain, that, in the beginning, Trenck had shown a friendship for Laudohn, had given him a commission, and that this at present truly great man learned in the society and under the command of Trenck his military principles.

Bavaria was totally plundered by Trenck; barges were loaded with gold, silver, and effects, which he sent to his estates in Sclavonia; prince Charles and count Kevenhuller countenanced his proceedings; but when field-marshal

Neuperg was at the head of the army, he had other principles. He was connected with baron Tiebes, a counsellor of the Hofkriegsrath, who was all-puissant over military men, and consequently was the enemy of Trenck.

Persecution proceeded so far, that a suit was at that time instituted against him, and Trenck was imprisoned; but he defended himself so powerfully, that in a month's time he was set at liberty.

In 1744 he obliged the French to retire beyond the Rhine, seized on a fort near Philipsburg, swam across the river with several pandours, attacked the fortifications, slew the marquis de Crevecœur with his own hand, a death he merited by his negligence, manned the post, afterward traversed the other arm of the Rhine, surprised two Bavarian regiments of cavalry in their camp, and by his daring manœuvre secured the passage of the Rhine to the whole army; which but for him would not have been effected.

The history of Maria Theresa declares what were the damages he did the enemy, during the campaign. He gave very signal proofs of his capacity and zeal at Tabor and Budweis. With three hundred men only he had the boldness to attack one of those towns, which was defended by the two Prussian regiments of Walrabe and Kreutz. An enterprise like this, against Prussian soldiers, sufficiently speaks the man.

He found, however, that the water in the moats of the town was deeper than his spies had declared it to be, and the scaling-ladders too short: most of those led to the attack were drowned, or killed in the water, and the small number that crossed the moats were made prisoners. The garrisons of Tabor, of Budweis, and that of the castle of Frauenberg, were nevertheless induced to capitulate, and yield themselves prisoners of war, although the main body under Trenck was still more than five miles distant.

His corps did not come up till the morrow, and it was ridiculous enough to see the pandours dressed in the caps of the Prussian fusileers and pioneers, which they wore

instead of their own, and which they afterward continued to wear.

In 1745 he went to Vienna, where his entrance into the city resembled a triumph. Every body ran to see, and wonder at, the pandour Trenck ; and this universal applause did but the more increase the envy of his enemies. The empress-queen received him with the most honourable distinction. He appeared in her presence with crutches ; she obliged him to be seated, and by her condescending speech inflamed his zeal even to extravagance.

At the battle of Sarau, which was fought in September, he fell upon the Prussian camp, and seized on the tent of the king, and his service of plate ; ~~but he came an hour too~~ late to attack the rear, as had been preconcerted. The politic Frederic willingly gave up his camp to be plundered ; for the rude Croats, engaged in this business, could not easily be drawn off to attack the army ; and the king was prepared to receive them, even if they should. In the mean time the imperial army was defeated.

Here was an open field for the enemies of Trenck to incite the people against him, and render him suspected by the court. They publicly accused him of having made the king of Prussia a prisoner in his tent, and of afterward restoring him to liberty ; that he also remained pillaging the camp, instead of attacking the rear of the army ; and that he alone thus occasioned the loss of the battle. His friends informed him of what was going forward, and that the storm was gathering.

After having gloriously ended the campaign, he returned to Vienna to defend himself. Here he found, already assembled, three and twenty of his officers, whom he had cashiered, and expelled his regiment,—most of them either for cowardice or mean actions. There were wicked men enough to be found to bear false testimony. The military counsellor Weber, and general Loewenwalde, had sworn his downfall, which they effected.

The judge himself purchased the depositions of false

witnesses ; and I here declare, upon my honour, that count Loewenwalde offered me a thousand ducats if I would betray the secrets of my cousin ; and that he farther promised me I should very soon be put in possession of my confiscated estates in Prussia, and have a company in a regiment. A prosecution managed by such judges, supported by such witnesses, must, of necessity, be for the righteous purpose of obtaining justice !

An arrêt was issued, on the 20th of August, that he should be perpetually confined, as a state prisoner, in the Spielberg. His property, however, remained in sequestration ; nor was he deprived of it, but gave orders, and examined the accounts of his collectors, to the day of his death. Thus he fell the victim of a covetous and evil heart.

I shall frankly speak my thoughts concerning my cousin, and his fate. With respect to individuals, whom he robbed to enrich himself, innocent men whom he massacred, either to obtain their property, or in the blood-thirsty field of war, and many other worthy people whom he made miserable,—he merited punishment, the pursuit of the avenging arm of justice, and to be extirpated from all humanity.

But, with respect to the Austrian monarchy, and as the hero of the Croats, he merited a mausoleum, the epitaph of gratitude, and the trophies of honour. At least he ought to have been protected by that state, in defence of which he was so loyal, so serviceable, so indefatigable, so daring ; whereas in that very state, he fell the victim of envy, and of the most hateful avarice.

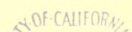
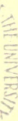
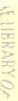
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